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# RECORDS OF THE PAST.

## VOL. II.

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# RECORDS OF THE PAST.

VOL. II.

EGYPTIAN TEXTS.

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# RECORDS OF THE PAST:

BEING

## ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

OF THE

## ASSYRIAN AND EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS.

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VOL. II.

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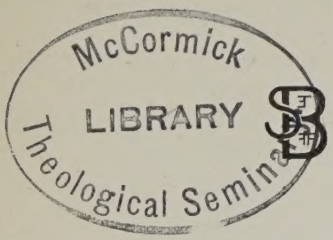


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# PREFACE.

THE second volume of the "RECORDS OF THE PAST" contains a translation of some of the principal Egyptian texts in the hieroglyphic and hieratic character. Although the interpretation of the Egyptian has been pursued for nearly half a century, and the progress made has been quite satisfactory, so that the nature and tenor of all inscriptions and texts are made out, some difficulties still lie in the way about certain points, and some difference of opinion prevails about the meaning of a few words or their exact equivalents in transcribing them into modern letters. These however are comparatively few, and the different transcriptions are not greater than those found in the works of scholars who have translated or written works upon modern Oriental languages. It is indeed to be regretted that one uniform mode of spelling or transcribing the same word in Oriental languages, has not been adopted by scholars, but notwithstanding the proposal of different universal systems for this

purpose, none has hitherto been adopted. The state in which all ancient documents have come down to the present day is that of mutilation, more or less severe, according to the dangers to which they have been exposed. On monuments engraved on stone it is sometimes greater than on the more fragile materials, such as papyrus or leather used for the purposes of writing. Although it is possible to supply the smaller lacunæ by conjectures, more or less happy, of the obvious meaning, some monuments have lost so much of their text that the attempt to restore it would be misleading the general inquirer. Each translator uses his judgment in this respect, and restorations of texts like those of injured sculpture must be accepted for what they are worth. In the present work they are inserted between brackets, to distinguish them from passages which exist in the originals but the meaning of which is doubtful, which are given in italics. Besides the difficulties already mentioned there are others in Egyptian texts, such as an occasional and startling change of the personal pronoun, and an abrupt transition of tense. These were probably flights of fine writing, according to the Egyptian standard of taste, but have not the same merit at the present day. On the whole there is little idiom

in the texts, especially the historical, for after the fulsome laudation of deified sovereigns, which encumbers with its luxuriance the commencement of historical documents, the narrative is clear, and the metaphors sparingly introduced are at once simple and intelligible; the text marches to the cadence of a harmonious syntax.

There are some points to be remembered about the transcription of proper names of kings and other persons which appear in this little volume. The Egyptian kings had generally five, sometimes as many as six names and titles. Two of these only are of great importance for historical and chronological inquirers, those introduced into rings or so called cartouches. The first, the solar or divine name, is the prænomen; the second, the family or birth name. Some Egyptologists formerly translated the prænomen, but in consideration of the difficulty attending it, on account of the doubtful meaning of these prænomens and their historical importance, they have been of late transcribed, and will be so found in the volume, as RA-SER-KA, RA-MEN-KHEPER, RA-USER-MA. Some differences of transcription also prevail in names; some such as THOTHMES, having been transcribed TET-MES, TOT-MES, and even TAAUD-MES by

different Egyptologists. In order to render the meaning still more perspicuous the Greek equivalent names have in a few cases been introduced and employed by different translators: thus the Egyptian word UN has been translated HELIOPOLIS, the Greek equivalent or name of the same city and HARPOCRATES has been in the same way introduced instead of its Egyptian form HAR-PA-KHRAT. Nothing has more impeded the general diffusion of Oriental knowledge and interest than the strange and unknown names which the general inquirer finds on opening translations of ancient or modern Oriental texts, although by degrees they are filtering into the public mind through their better known, and more euphonious Greek equivalents.

Although there is no doubt that the notes appended to the translations might have been extended and made more numerous, it would have been a great incumbrance to a work which is intended to popularise the translations of the texts themselves, and not to give dissertations on historical, chronological, or other points of interest. The notes however have been left to the discretion of each translator, who is alone, as in the case of the translation, responsible for them. The introductory pre-

faces have also, as far as possible, been restricted to the indications of the works when the text has been published and the locality where it has been found. The general or most salient points of interest which the inscription or text gives is also, when required, pointed out; as also the previous translations of which a translator may have in any way availed himself. Justice has therefore been rendered to former inquirers, whose labours have lighted the interpreter on his path through the gloom of centuries. Even when precise or general accounts of the contents have been published without a literal translation, they are noticed, so as not only to guide the public but also the student to the sources of information. In translations from prose compositions each line of the original text is indicated; of poetical compositions, each verse. This renders the work a manual for students themselves, the more advanced can readily find and examine for themselves what they require, while beginners will have the advantages of translations at hand of a mass of texts, which, when studied, will render them masters of the Assyrian and Egyptian languages. Not only, therefore, it is hoped, will they offer to the public the principal results of these new branches of human learning, but they will stimu-

late fresh inquirers to enrol themselves in the ranks of the corps of interpreters of the Past.

In Egypt, as in Babylonia and Assyria, these texts are of the highest antiquity; hieroglyphics are found as early as the second Egyptian dynasty, and documents in the cursive hand or demotic descend to the fifth century of the present era, while the spoken language, or Coptic, has not been extinct for more than two centuries. When it is considered that the texts are in most instances contemporaneous with the events they record, and written or executed under public control, it must be admitted that they are of the highest importance, both from their vast antiquity, and the seal of authority impressed upon them. They are very different from documents written by Greek and Roman historians, however conscientious or esteemed, who had to rely on the doubtful veracity of interpreters, and whose works only give a dim, shattered, or distorted reflection of the splendour of the ancient Eastern monarchies. It is from the new texts that the ancient history of Egypt and Central Asia has not only to be restored but absolutely reconstructed. Many of the inscriptions were not even accessible to Egyptians and Babylonians at a later period, for they have been exhumed from tombs hermetically sealed, or documents

hopelessly buried; traditions only of their contents had been preserved, but the actual texts themselves have not escaped the eye of an age animated with the strongest thirst for historical knowledge. In these ancient nations a happy union of art and philology has reproduced a picture of the past of the most complete character. The texts, paintings, and sculptures all appear together and like illuminations on a giant scale, the events recorded by the pen are pourtrayed in their contemporary appearance by the pencil or the chisel. For Biblical Exegesis they are the most reliable contributaries which have appeared, new light has not only been thrown on the history of the Jews, but additional evidence has been given of the similarity of modes of thought, rituals, customs, and philology. It is simply impossible to ignore their value, for it would be a grievous error to reject all contemporary history, as told by the conterminous nations of Palestine, from the consideration of the age, details, and circumstances of events in which these nations were the principal actors. Whatever difficulties may present themselves in the diverse statements of the same events, owing to national pride or imperfect local knowledge, the reconciliation of conflicting statements is a mere question of time, and the acquirement

of additional data to those already possessed, which are inadequate for the final solution of some of the more arduous problems. If indeed the usual argument that such translations, being in their nature to some extent uncertain, is to be adduced as a reason for not accepting their authority, let it be known that there is no greater discrepancy between the labours of Egyptologists and Assyriologists in this respect than between translations made from other ancient languages on which centuries of philological criticism have been expended; all translators agree in the main facts, and more cannot be said of past history or modern events than that the main facts, as narrated, are correct. It is a proof of the advance of civilization that so much attention should have been paid, and so much labour bestowed on the elucidation of these ancient texts. An age preeminent in material triumphs, the subjection of the elements, the acquirement of wealth, and the improvement of material prosperity has also seen the discovery of the lost treasures of antiquity, its mental activity not being limited by the mere alchemical love of gold. The number of translators, foreign and English, whose labours appear, are cited in the present volume, and most of them have placed their services for the love

of the abstract and unendowed learning. The labours of the translators in both volumes have been rendered for the sake of science and truth alone. When appealed to, the most cordial response was given to the demand, and there is no greater pleasure than that of recording how cheerfully their aid was rendered to the production of these volumes.

The texts hitherto translated are only a portion of those which are known to exist in public museums and private hands ; though much has been published, a larger number of texts still await translation, and fresh materials will no doubt be discovered, as although some sites are apparently exhausted, others are almost intact. The list given in the first volume will convey an idea of the extent of the different texts in Egyptian, Babylonian, and Assyrian, which probably rival in extent those of any other known ancient literature. It is hoped that sufficient interest will be aroused to the value of this work to cause the whole, or at all events all the most important texts of this ancient literature to appear in their translated form, as the two first volumes only open the series, and as equally interesting if not even still more attractive materials remain for the future numbers of the series. The result to Biblical

Archæology, Chronology, the reconstruction of ancient Oriental History, and the fathoming of ancient thought cannot be too highly appreciated. The mounds, the sepulchres, the traces of primeval man, are unaccompanied by that Divine exponent of thought, a written language, but in these most ancient of the world's Records, humanity appears not as a babe, unintelligible, in swaddling clothes, but as an adult and reasonable being, that articulates to the nineteenth century the history of the cradle of its civilization.

S. BIRCH.

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# INSCRIPTION OF UNA.

VIth DYNASTY.

TRANSLATED BY S. BIRCH, LL.D.

THIS Inscription found by M. Mariette and subsequently placed in the Museum of Boulaq at Cairo, has been published and translated by the late Vicomte Em. de Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments: six premieres dynasties*, 4to, Paris, 1866, p. 117 and foll. pl. 7, 8. The whole of the text, owing to the difficult passages which are in it, has not been translated by M. de Rougé, but a precis of the whole is given, with interlinear versions of the most important passages. It is one of the oldest historical texts known, and is of the period of the VIth dynasty. In it is found the earliest known mention of the Negroes, who seem at that remote period to have been

conquered by the Egyptians and conscribed for their armies. This text is not only one of the oldest historical documents of ancient Egypt but it is also of great interest. Unfortunately it is extremely difficult to translate, some portions being very obscure, and others mutilated or imperfect.

# INSCRIPTION OF UNA.

LINE

1 . . . . . I WAS made Crown Bearer of the Majesty (of the King) TETA, and (had) the dignity of Superintendent of the storehouse. The great house made me Registrar (Sacred Scribe) of the docks.

2 . . . . Chief of the coffer of the Majesty of (the King) PEPI, His Majesty gave me the rank of Companion, Scribe, Priest of the place of his pyramid . . . .

3 . . . . . (gave me the dignity) of Scribe for a time[1] . . . . . His Majesty was satisfied with me (beyond all) his servants. (He gave me also) to hear all things. I was also alone with the Royal Scribe, and officer of all the secrets

4 . . . . . (built) in the name of the King of the royal seat of the temple of the Hexapolis. The King was satisfied with me more than any of his chiefs,[2] of his family,[3] of his servants

5 . . . . . any . . . . . by the Majesty of the Divine Lord I brought a white stone sarcophagus from the land of Ruau,[4] His Majesty made me sail (there) as a Divine Sealer and Crown Bearer

6 I (departed) under his orders bringing this sarcophagus from Ruau. It came thence brought in the great boat of the inner palace with its cover,

7 a door, 2 jambs, and a *pedestal*[5] never before was the like done by any servant, for I was very submissive to please the heart of His Majesty.

8 I was very submissive contenting the heart of His

[1] Or scribe for a time: temporary scribe.

[2] *Sar* chiefs, or eunuchs. [3] *Sahu* "mummies" family or ancestors.

[4] Or *Rumakhu*, an unknown locality. [5] Or basin.

LINE

Majesty I was satisfying His Majesty when I was, *a Sacred Scribe*[1] His Majesty made me sole companion, Superintendent of the *dock*

9 of the . . . of the King, Superintendent of the land of Khent. I was also doing the wishes of His Majesty in making what was approved, in doing the paths of the King, in setting me up as Chief I also

10 made His Majesty satisfied with it above all things, and receiver of things in the royal seat for the great royal wife AMTES in private. His Majesty appointed me to be auditor of each. There was not

11 any Royal Scribe, Magistrate, or Chief there except me alone so greatly to the contentment to the heart of His Majesty, and satisfying His Majesty there, I was made sole Scribe

12 and sole secret Scribe while my rank in the palace was Superintendent of the land of Khent; never was like an auditor of secrets of the palace before except when His Majesty appointed

13 one on account of the great confidence of His Majesty more than all his chiefs, all his Courtiers,[2] all his servants. His Majesty turned the things of the Amu of the Herusha

14 His Majesty made soldiers of numerous ten thousands in the land of the South, likewise *he went up* in Northern Abu[3] . . . . in the land of the North in the . . . . . also there

15 in the land of Ster, within the land of Ster in the land of Aarut, the Negroes from Nam, the Negroes from Amam the Negroes

16 from Uauat, the Negroes from Kau the Negroes from

[1] Or scribe for a time: or of the "door" or "mouth" temporary scribe.

[2] Or family *Sahu*. [3] Elephantine.

LINE

the land of Tatam His Majesty placed me at the head of that army.

17 Lo the Nomarchs, the Chancellors, the sole friends of the palace, the Superintendents, the Rulers of the nomes of the North and South, the friends, Superintendents of gold

18 the Superintendent of the Priests of the South and North, the Superintendents of the register and at the head Officers of the South and the land of the North, and of the cities *drilled*[1] the Negroes of these lands.

19 I made the arrangement; lo my rank in the palace was Superintendent of the land of Khent making a road to the place to the best of my hands (ability). I was alone there as a second of His *Majesty*

20 to the best of my power there; *wearing out* my sandals[2] going in the road to the best of leading. I was alone there, laden in every place

21 to the best of my leading one of each of his family, of all persons, they placed them at the pool of the North, the morning of the day of bringing in peace the footstool of HORUS Lord of Truth, then were the . . . . of

22 . . . . all good things. Went the . . . . . of that force, never was there a better going of any servants, this force came

23 . . . . . in safety finding as it wished the land of Herusha. *Went* this army in peace it subdued the land of Herusha.

24 This army came in safety it founded the fortresses of Herusha. This army came safely it cut down

25 its figs and its grapes, this army came safely it set fire to . . . . all the *Negroes*. Came this army

[1] Rather "likewise" "also" "of."

[2] Or, possibly, "having sandals in my hand."

LINE

26 in safety it bound the troops there by many ten thousands. This army came safely (it took the enemy)

27 there by very many in number as living captives His Majesty was pleased at it above all things. He sent me to set right . . . .

28 five times, to subdue the land of Herusha to subdue their revolt by this force *His Majesty* was pleased at it beyond everything

29 Saying, have revolted the Negroes of this tribe of the land of Khetam, safely to Takhisa ; I sailed

30 again in boats with this force. I subdued this country from the extreme frontier

31 on the North of the land of Herusha. Then was ordered this army on the road. They subdued them also

32 smiting all opponents there. The place was thrown under my sandals. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt MERENRA the Divine Lord the ever living gave me

33 to be a Duke, Governor of the South ascending from Abu[1] to the North of the nome *Letopolis*. I very much pleased His Majesty, I *greatly* pleased His Majesty to the satisfaction of His Majesty.

34 I kept them under my sandals, His Majesty praised (me) on account of it selecting me that I was made in the place of a Chief more than all his eunuchs, all his household,

35 all his servants. Never was this dignity granted to any servant before. He appointed me also Governor of the South. I attended to the best of my hands in it, without a second

36 making all the constructions, and preparing all the things *which were* to be prepared for the inner palace in that land of the South redoubling every hour the preparations for the palace in that land of the South a

[1] Elephantine.

LINE

second time made the eunuch (or Chief) of . . . . . .

37 constructing in that land. Never was the like done in the South before, and was praised on account of it. His Majesty sent me

31 to Abha to bring (for) the living Lord the Sarcophagus of the living with its cover and pyramidion, a *statue* for the pyramid Shanefer of the (King) MERENRA, the Divine Ruler

39 His Majesty sent me to Abu[1] to bring a granite doorway with sill, granite doors and lintels

40 to bring granite doorway, and sills, of the cornice on it, for the Shanefer pyramid of MERENRA, the Divine Ruler. I transported

41 (them) forthwith to the Shanefer pyramid of the King MERENRA in 6 boats of burthen three towing boats, 3 boats of 8 lengths, for the troops one vessel, never was there at Abha

42 (and) Abu[1] a vessel of war in days of any King. All things were (according) to *what* His Majesty had ordered, all things were so, according to all the orders of His Majesty there. His Majesty sent me to Hanub to bring a great slab[2] (or altar) of alabaster of Hanub I also extracted that slab in 17 days. Extracted

43 from Hanub to place in its boat, to transport it in that boat of burthen

44 I made for it a boat of burthen in the little dock 60 cubits in length and 30 in its breadth, put together in 17 days in the month of Epiphi. Then there was not

45 water in the turns (of the river) to tow to the pyramid

[1] Elephantine.

[2] Or, load, *hetp* is a table, or altar. A boat of 60 cubits long or about 100 feet would take in a *load* or slab.

LINE

Shanefer of MERENRA safely. It was done forthwith by me before the god[1] (King). His Majesty the Divine Lord ordered and sent me to excavate 4 docks

46 in the South for 3 boats of burthen, 4 transports in the small basin of the land of Uauat. Then the Rulers of the countries of Areret, Aam, and Ma,

47 supplied the wood for them. It was made in about a year at the time of the inundation loaded with very much granite for the Shanefer pyramid of MERENRA. Then was made *to be constructed*

48 an edifice in these four docks likewise . . . . . to *invoke* the spirits of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt MERENRA ever living *more than all the gods* for all things were done

49 before the god (King) as His Divine Majesty ordered, I was the beloved of his father, the praised of his mother, the Chief,

50 the delight of his brethren, the Duke,[2] the Governor of the South, the truly devoted to Osiris was I.

[1] Or "as the king liked." [2] Or *ha*, "chief."

# THE INSTRUCTIONS OF KING AMENEMHAT I TO HIS SON USERTESEN I.

XIIth DYNASTY.

BY

G. MASPERO,

Docteur-ès-Lettres, Professeur au Collége de France, et à l'École des Hautes Etudes.

TO establish a correct text of this important work I had at my disposal: 1st *Papyrus Sallier* ii. (pl. I, l. 1—pl. III, l. 9.), 2nd the unpublished *Papyrus Millingen*, a fac-simile of which I owe to the kindness of M. Jacques de Rougé; 3rd *Papyrus Sallier* I, (p. viii. verso); 4th, *Ostracon* 3623, and 5th, *Ostracon* 3638 of the British Museum. The manuscript 4920 of Louvre which contains at least the first half of the text is almost entirely illegible and was of no use to me.

Out of five available sources, only one contains a complete copy of *The Instructions of Amenemhat*, and

that most incorrectly, viz., *Papyrus Sallier* II. The *Papyrus Millingen* is correct enough, and when entire contained the whole of the work: it is unfortunately mutilated at the end, and fails exactly where it was most wanted. *Sallier* I, *Ostraca* 3623 and 3638 have only portions of the text indifferently written by careless scribes. Taking *The Instructions of Amenemhat* to have been divided as they are in the *Papyrus Millingen* into fifteen verses, there is for each of them the following authorities:—ver. i.–vii. *Pap. Sallier* I, II; *Pap. Millingen; Ostracon* 3623: ver. viii., *Pap. Sallier* II; *Pap. Millingen; Ostracon* 3623: ver. ix., *Pap. Sallier* II; *Pap. Millingen; Ostraca* 3623, 3638: ver. x.–xii., *Pap. Sallier* II; *Pap. Millingen; Ostracon* 3638: ver. xiii.–xv, *Pap. Sallier* II; fragments of *Pap. Millingen.*

M. Goodwin gave an analysis of the text in his paper in the *Cambridge Essays on Hieratic Papyri* (1858) and translated about six or seven lines of it.

## TRANSLATION.

1 The beginning of the Instructions—made by His Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt RASH'OTEPHET—Son of the Sun AMENEMHAT—deceased :—He says in a dream—unto his son the Lord intact,[1]—he says rising up like a god :—"Listen to what I speak unto thee :—Now thou art a King of earth,[2] rulest thou now over the three regions,—act even better than did thy predecessors.[3]

2 Let concord be kept between the subjects and thyself,[4]—lest people should give their heart up to fear.—Being amongst them, do not isolate thyself;—let not (only) the landed lords and noblemen fill thy heart like brothers,—and grant not access unto thee to people whose friendship has not been long tried.[5]

3 Apply thyself[6] to strengthen thy heart,—because there are no more servants, O man,—in the day of thy need.—As for myself, I have given to the humble and made the

[1] Neb-er-zer, "the lord intact," a title of Osiris in opposition with Sep, Sepi, Osiris dismembered by Set.

[2] Thus after *Sallier* I, l. 2, and *Pap. Mill.* pl. i. l. 2.

[3] Lit. "Act more than the Graces, *nowre*;" the word *nowre*, like our title "*Sa Grace*," being reserved to kings, gods, or men of high rank.

[4] Lit. "and himself."

[5] Lit. "Do not let men be coming in, not being duration of friendship."

[6] Sic. *Pap. Mill.*, I, l. 5. The other texts give the first person, "I apply myself."

weak be ;—I have given valour to him who had it not as well as to him who (already) had it.

4 From a subject[1] I have raised thee,—I have given thee thy arms[2] that fear of thee should come of it,—and I have adorned myself with my fine linen so that I looked like water-flowers of my (garden),[3]—I have anointed myself with essences (as largely) as if I spilt water from my store-house.

5 My images live in the middle of men,—(because) I have made the afflicted ones unto *non*-afflicted whose (cries) were heard no more ;[4] the great place of fight, it was seen no more,—and yet it had been fought before, (as if the land were) a bull forgetful of yesterday,[5]—and there was stability of fortune neither for the ignorant nor for the learned man.

6 After supper-time it was, when night was come,—I took an hour of pleasure,—I laid myself down on the carpets of my house, I stretched myself,—and I began in my soul to follow sleep ;—but—lo ! there had been weapons —gathered together to oppose me, and I became as helpless as the snake of the field.[6]

[1] Lit. "an eater of rations."

[2] *Pap. Mill.* i. l. 7, "I have given him (thee) *my* arms."

[3] Lit. "like my *shui*," the *shui* being reeds or water flowers.

[4] My Image lives in the hearts of men for I have made those that were afflicted free from their afflictions and their cries are heard no more.

[5] Thus after *Pap. Mill.* i. l. 10. I take that phrase to signify that people had fought one against another as if they had forgotten all their old traditions.

[6] Thus after *Pap. Mill.*, p. ii. l. 1, 2. Probably the amphisbæna or blindworm is here meant.

7 Then I woke up to fight, feeling strong in my limbs,[1] —but I soon found that it was to strike at (a foe) who did not stand[2]—If I caught a rebel with weapons in his hand,—I made the coward[3] turn back and fly:[4]—he was not brave (even) in the night, and no one fought.—There never was a time of need (coming) that I did not know of;

8 And when my day came, without my knowing it,[5]—I had not listened to the courtiers (who wished) me to abdicate in thy favour,—but I sat with thee, and lo! I made designs for thee;—(and) lest there should be inconscious fear (spreading amongst them),[6]—I never wore a heart careless of what was for (my) servants.[7]

9 Whether locusts were drawn up to plunder,—whether I were assaulted by seditions in the interior of my house,—whether (the Nile) waters were (too) low and wells dry[8]—whether (my enemies) took advantage of thy youth for their (wicked) deeds,—I never drew back

[1] Lit. "I woke up to fight, and I was in (or of) my limbs."

[2] The passage is restituted partly from *Pap. Mill.* ii. l. 2. and partly from a correction: "*Qimna h'uniroh'er pu an-mentnew.*"

[3] *H'imtu*, a coarse epithet to be found in Pianxi's stele A, 16: "*An qem n menwiu zes-ew m h'imtu,*" "No army stands whose general is a *coward.*"

[4] Lit. "I made the coward turn round."

[5] Lit. "When my passage came and I not knowing it." "*My passage*" seems to be an euphemism for *my death.*

[6] Lit. "So that there be no fear, it not knowing itself."

[7] The text of that phrase is most corrupt in all the existing MSS.: therefore the translation is not to be accepted without caution.

[8] Restored from *Pap. Mill.* ii. l. 5.

since the day when I was born:—never was the like since the time when the heroes did their deeds.[1]

10 I have sent my messengers up to Abu[2] and my couriers down to Ath'u,[3]—I stood on the boundaries of the land to keep watch on its borders—and I brought to the boundaries men armed with the khopesh,—being armed with the khopesh (myself) in (all) my forms.[4]

11 I am a maker of corn, the lover of NEPRA;[5]—he granted me the rising up of the Nile upon the cultivated lands.[6]—There was no hungry (creature) through me, no thirsty (creature) through me,—(because) every one took care to act according to my saying,—and all my orders increased the love my people had for me.[7]

12 I hunted the lion and brought back the crocodile (a prisoner)—I fought the UAUAI[8]—and brought back the MATSUI[9] (a prisoner);—I directed my efforts against the SATI,[10] (so that) he came (to me) like a whelp.

13 I built myself a house adorned with gold;—its roof was

[1] Lit. "since the time of action of the heroes" viz., since the time before Menes.

[2] Elephantine.

[3] Sic. after *Pap. Mill.* ii. l. 6. *Abu*, is Elephantine, *Athu*, Natho in the Delta.

[4] After *Ostr.* ii. and *Pap. Mill.* ii. l. 8.

[5] The corn-god.

[6] See negative confession in Ritual cap. CXXV.

[7] Lit. "What I ordered all (was) place for friendship."

[8] The Nubians.

[9] The Μάζυες of Hecatæus Milesius, in Lybia.

[10] The Asiatics.

painted blue,[1] the walls in it—and the passages are of stones (connected with) metal-hooks;—the bolts are of artificial *men*-metal.—Made for eternity, time shrinks before it,—(for) I possess all the everlasting virtues of the Lord intact.[2]

14 There are many devices of passages[3] (in it);—I (alone) know how to tell how to find my Grace,[4]—so that no one knows it except thee,—O man USORTESEN L. H. S.!—Thy legs go,—and thou thyself with thy own eyes thou seest me[5]—represented[6] in a fortunate hour,—amongst the *hammu*[7] who do honour to thee.

15 The things I have made,[8] I transferred to thee afterwards!—(Now) I am the point at which (must) aim whatever is in thy heart,—the statue on which to put the pschent and the signs of divinity,—the seal of friendship! (for) I have begun for thee—prayers in the boat of RA.—Behold! what made thee King is what I made be— . . . . . —Raising up statues,

[1] Lit. "Its roof in *xesbet*." The *xesbet ma*, is the lapis lazuli; the *xesbet ari*, is the blue colour with which the Egyptians painted the roofs of their temples.

[2] The text is corrupt here.

[3] Secret passage.

[4] Lit. "*his* Grace."

[5] *Pap. Mill.* iii. l. 5 has "(I) myself, with my own eyes, (I) see (thee)."

[6] *Mesi.*

[7] The *hammu* seem to be a kind of spirits who are often represented adoring the rising sun.

[8] Lit. "The things I have made *before me*." cf. *Baku xer h'ata*, "The servants *before me*" for "*my* servants."

strengthening what thou grewest— . . . . . .
. . . . . .

Here the Papyrus ends.

(Dedicated) to the person of the wise Poet, the excellent above all,—the Scribe of treasury, QAGABU,—the Scribe of treasury HORA,—by the Scribe ENNA-ENNA in the first year, the second month of Pert, the 20th day.

# ANNALS OF THOTHMES III.

## THE STATISTICAL TABLET.

TRANSLATED BY S. BIRCH, LL.D.

THE so-called Statistical tablet of Karnak, or Annals of Thothmes III, was inscribed on a sandstone wall in the court of the granite sanctuary at Karnak, and a part of the inscription here translated is preserved in the Louvre at Paris. The text has been published in Young, *Hieroglyphics* pl. 41, 42, from a copy by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and also by Lepsius, *Auswahl* pl. 12. A translation was given by Birch, *Transactions Royal Society of Literature, New Series*, Vol. II, p. 100, by the Vicomte de Rougé *Revue Archéologique* 1860. p. 297,

and by M. Brugsch *Histoire d'Égypte* p. 100. A portion of the text is however only translated by M. de Rougé, without the hieroglyphics, from copies given by M. Mariette. This renders it much more complete, while the fragments published by M. Brugsch give a much earlier date, that of the 15th year, if correct, (and there is no apparent reason to doubt its accuracy) falling into the period of the joint reign of Hatasu and Thothmes III. It is however remarkable that there should be only 4 expeditions or campaigns between the 15th and 29th years. Possibly the campaign of the 15th year belonged to another and earlier series.

# THE STATISTICAL TABLET.

Fragments 1–3 of an inscription on Sandstone being a part of the so-called *Statistical Tablet* of Thothmes III. Commencement and fragments of lines. The Text is engraved with a partial explanation. Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens*, I. pl. 26.

## FRAGMENT 1.

LINE

1 The statues of the god which are in the Temples . . .
2 chambers having grand vases of . . . .
3 to adore the beauty of his person at his rising, naming . . . . . .
4 of electrum,[1] and black metal placed at the base of the throne . . . .
5 His Majesty augmented it again to his father HORUS
6 with the constructions of the hands of the Southern wall,[2] never after will be done the like . . . .
7 like the stars in the bosom of Heaven, the royal statue was in (or of) . . . . . .
8 Then his Divine Majesty gave him numerous memorials . . . . .
9 anew. The 15th year the 27th of Pashons went forth the expedition . . . .

[1] Or gold.

[2] Ptah or Vulcan.

LINE

10 Two Chiefs of the RUTENNU, children . . . . .

11 acres 1800 for the land of the divine supplies of oxen, geese bread . . . . . .

12 A sacrifice of bulls and calves . . .

13 which father AMEN-RA had ordered . . .

14 The exhibition was in the . . . .

## FRAGMENT 2.

LINE

1 made His Majesty to the god of the gates of THEBES

2 the name on it, in electrum, gold, and black metal,

3 The first gate of RA-MEN-KHEPER, AMEN-SERFAU :[1] the second gate of RA-MEN-KHEPER, KHENT-KHER-AMEN : the third gate of RA-MEN-KHEPER, AMEN-UR-BAU inlaid with real electrum he made Truth to go in it.

## FRAGMENT 3.

LINE

1 a grand harp made of silver, gold, lapis glass, turquoise and all precious stones.

HORIZONTAL LINE

1 The living god, who has appeared in the Thebaid the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the absolute Lord, RA-MEN-KHEPER Son of the Sun, of his loins, THOTHMES (III) the most perfect of beings . . . .

2 His Majesty has ordered to be inscribed the victories which his father AMEN-RA gave him on the stone wall in the Temple made by His Majesty . . . . . as also the spoil taken by His Majesty.

[1] These are the names of the Gates.

LINE

1 The 29th year His Majesty marched to the land of Tunaputa to chastise the revolted countries in his 5th expedition. The King took the place of Ua . . . . . the army congratulated the King and gave thanks

2 to AMEN-RA for the victories which he had given his son, which the King valued more than anything else. After that His Majesty passed to the place of offerings he offered a sacrifice to AMEN-RA in the Horizons, of oxen, calves, waterfowls . . . . . in the name of RA-MEN-KHEPER the ever living. Enumeration of the spoil taken from that land

3 of the race of the fallen of TUNEP, the Prince of that town 1, warriors 329, silver 100 pounds (*Ten*)[1] gold 100 pounds, lapis lazuli, turquoise, vases of bronze, of metal . . . . . They were placed in the boats . . . . laden with all sorts of things, male and female slaves, iron, lead, and asmar[2] . . . .

4 of all sorts of good things. Then His Majesty sailed back to Egypt . . . . . delighted in heart. He despoiled the land of Aruta[3] of all its grain and cut down all its parts . . . . . Then His Majesty found the land of . . . . . of the Tahai throughout: their magazines were full of their corn. Were found

5 their wines abundant in their wine presses like waves, their corn was in heaps of abundant grain, for provisions. The army was satiated with all sorts of things. The enumeration of the spoil brought away by His Majesty in that expedition was male and female slaves 51, cattle 32, silver cups 12,

6 of incense, balsam, honey, amphoras[4] 170: of wine,

[1] The *Ten*, weighed about 1400 grs. troy. [2] Emery. [3] Aradus.

[4] A vase called *men*, or amphora in which wine was brought.

LINE

amphoras 6428, iron, lead, lapis lazuli, and felspar, oxen 618, goats 3,636, bread and cakes various, corn, barley, flour. Then the soldiers of His Majesty measured every day their rations

7 as in the festivals of Egypt. The 30th year then His Majesty went forth to the Rutennu[1] in his 6th expedition, he approached the town of Katesh His Majesty pillaged it, and spoiled the magazines and took away all the grain. He went to the land of . . . . . tu, he reached the towns of Simyra and Arattu[2] and treated them in the same manner. The amount of the tributes

8 brought to the Spirits of His Majesty in that year by the Princes of the Rutennu, the sons of the Princes and their brothers were brought to be placed in the power (of the King and led) to Egypt. If any of the Chiefs died, His Majesty made (another) come to be in his place. The number of the sons of Princes led that year *was* . . . . . male and female slaves 181, mares 188, chariots

9 ornamented with gold, silver and painted 40. The year 31, the 3rd of *the month* Pashons were assembled the spoil made by His Majesty in that year and spoils of the place Hansatu on the banks of the lake Nesrana, men taken alive 490 . . . . of the sons of the wretched Chief of . . . . 3, Chief of the eunuchs belonging to him 1. Total 490 persons, mares 20, chariots 13

10 provided with all their accessories. As His Majesty had taken that town in an instant all was seized and carried off. The tribute of the Princes of the Rutennu, *who* came to prostrate themselves before the Spirits of His Majesty in that year male and female slaves . . . .

[1] Syria. [2] Aradus; this variation exists in the original.

LINE

. . . . . of that country 72, silver 761 pounds 2 ounces[1] 19 chariots ornamented with silver,

11 and provided with all their accessories. Fat bulls[2] 104, young bulls 172, total 276. Goats 4622, iron ore, bricks 40, lead . . . . . gold, armour ornamented with studs 42, also all their products,

12 and all the good plants of that country. Every station to which His Majesty approached was supplied with different kinds of bread, and food, with palm wine, incense, wine, honey, figs . . . . . their number of all sorts of things was known to the soldiers of His Majesty, nothing was forgotten.

13 They are placed on the roll of the royal palace, their enumeration is not given on this tablet in order to avoid a multiplication of words. Their property is given at the place where they make . . . . . The contribution of the Rutennu was appointed of a great quantity of grain,

14 corn, barley, incense, fresh dates, wine, fruit, all the agreeable things of the country. They were all returned to the treasury as enumerated. The product of the . . . . . 33, kasam, all the gems of that country also a great number of stones (incense)

15 for burning, and all the good productions of that land. His Majesty approached Ta-mera (or Northern Egypt) the envoys of the KANEBTI[3] came having their tribute of gums, and . . . . . male negroes for servants 10, bulls . . . .

16 young 113, bulls 230, total 343 besides boats laden

[1] The *Kat*, ounce or drachm weighed about 140 gr. troy.

[2] Perhaps *Tep*, is the buffalo.

[3] Perhaps Kanopus—the word seems to mean "curly haired."

LINE

with ivory, ebony and panther skins and all the products of (that country) . . . . . The tribute of Uaua was . . . . . of the *Uaua* 5, steers 31, bulls 61. Total 92.

17 besides the boats laden with all the tribute of that country the tribute of the *Uaua* also. In the year 33 when His Majesty was in the land of the Ruten (His Majesty) approached . . . . . of that river, he placed another where was the tablet of his father

18 the King of Upper and Lower Egypt RA-MEN-KHEPER-KA (THOTHMES I). His Majesty sailed to take the towns, and plough the country of the enemy of the vile Naharaina[2] in . . . . . he pursued them for the distance of an atur without any one daring to look

19 him in the face . . . . except *when* bounding along like a herd of goats. Then the horses were . . . . . by the whole army, the Princes

20 their women 30, men taken prisoners 80, male and female slaves and their children 606, those who surrendered, *their* women . . . . . he carried off their grain. His Majesty then came to the city of

21 Ninii[1] on *his* return. Then His Majesty set up his tablet in Naharaina[2] to enlarge the frontiers of Kami[3] . . . . . The tribute brought by the Princes of that country *was*

22 male and female slaves 513, mares 260, gold, pounds 45 ounces 19, silver and *gold* vases of the workmanship of the Tahai . . . . chariots with all their equipments, bulls and

23 buffalo[4] calves 28, bulls 564, goats 5323, incense, amphoras 828, balsam . . . . . all the delicious products of that country and all its very numerous fruits. Behold

[1] Nineveh. [2] Mesopotamia. [3] Egypt.
[4] *Tep*, "fat" or "buffalo."

LINE

24 every part was provisioned with all sorts of things according to the rate of the yearly tax. The tribute of the land of Remenen[1] was also according to the rate of the yearly tax, and the Princes of the land of Remenen[1] . . . . . unknown birds 2, geese 4

25 of that country. Behold it was (supplying) *daily*. The tribute of the prince of Senkara *was* real lapis lazuli pounds 4, artificial lapis lazuli[2] pounds 24, lazuli lazuli of Babalu[3] . . . . . of real lapis lazuli, a head of a ram of real lapis lazuli

26 weighing ounces 15, and vases. The tribute of those of the great land of the (Khita)[4] in that year was silver rings 8 weighing pounds 301, white precious stone 1 great block, birch wood *chariots* . . . . . (when the King was returning) towards Egypt after having made a campaign

27 in Naharaina to enlarge the frontiers of Egypt. The treasures brought by His Majesty in that year from the land of Punt[5] were gums 1685 haks (bushels), gold . . . . pounds 154, ounces 2, male and female slaves 134, bulls

28 calves 114, bulls 305 total 419, besides transports laden with ivory, ebony, panther skins and all the good things of *that* land. Such was the tribute of Kush. The tribute of the Uauat in that year consisted of male and female slaves . . . . 8, male negroes 12, total 20; bull calves 43,

29 bulls 60, total 103 besides boats loaded with all the good products of that country. Such was the tribute of that place. The year 34 behold His Majesty marched to the land of the Tahai in his 10th campaign behold the whole of that *land* surrendered . . . . The list

[1] Armenia. [2] Blue glass, or composition. [3] Babylon.
[4] It may be the Rutennu; the name is wanting. [5] Arabia.

LINE

30 of the places taken in that year, fortresses 2, a fortress surrendered in the territory of the Anaukasa, total 3, captives brought by His Majesty . . . . taken prisoners 90, surrendered with their wives

31 and their children . . . . . mares 40, chariots ornamented with gold and silver, gold vases and gold in rings 50 pounds 8 ounces, silver vases of that country and rings 153 pounds, bronze . . . . bull calves 326, white goats 80, kids 50, asses 70, a great quantity of birch wood[1]

32 a tree of that wood, acacia[2] wood chairs with their . . . 6 poles for a tent ornamented with bronze and inlaid with precious stones and all the good wood of that land. The tribute of the Princes of the land of Rutennu in that year was horses . . chariots ornamented in gold silver and colours 34, male and female slaves 704, gold 55 pounds 8 ounces, silver vases various

33 of the work of that country *weighing* . . . *pounds*, *men* stone, all sorts of gems, vases, copper in ore,[3] bricks 80, lead, bricks 11, colours, pounds 100, white incense, felspar, alabaster . . . . bull calves 13, bulls 530, asses 84, bronze, a quantity of wood and many copper vases, perfumes amphoras 695

34 sweet balsam, and green balsam amphoras 2,080, wine amphoras 608, birch wood chariots, and acacia wood buckets,[4] and all the good wood of that country. Each of the stations of His Majesty was provided with all sorts of good things for His Majesty to receive . . . . . of the land of the Tahai, with cedar wood boats of that (country), boats also laden with logs of their woods

[1] Called *taka*, perhaps "yew," *taxus*. This came from the Rutennu.
[2] Or "cedar." [3] Or "of his land."
[4] The Coptic *knikigi*. This may be a kind of wood.

LINE

35 great beams for the . . . . . of His Majesty The Chiefs of the land of Asi brought in that year bricks of copper 108, sef[1] pounds 280, bricks of lead 6, plates of lead 1200, lapis lazuli pounds 110, tusks . . . . wood, chairs 2, the product of the wretched Kush, calves 110, gold pounds 300, slaves, negroes and negresses, and the daughter of a Chief to place in the harem,

36 total 64, cattle . . . bulls, calves 110, total 275, besides boats laden with ivory and ebony and all the product of that land the quota of Kush was thus. The tribute of the Uauat was gold pounds 254, male and female slaves captured 10, bull calves . . in all, besides boats laden with

37 all the good things of that country, the quota of Uauat was thus. In the 35th year His Majesty was in the land of Tahai in his 10th campaign His Majesty approached the city of Aruana . for behold the miserable Chief of Naharaina[2] had assembled his cavalry and men . . . . .

38 from the ends of the land in their great numbers. They advanced to fight with His Majesty. His Majesty . . . with them. The soldiers of His Majesty made a hasty time, waiting to take the spoil. His Majesty prevailed over enemies by the Spirits . . . . . .

39 of Naharaina.[2] They were repulsed and cut in pieces falling one upon another before His Majesty. The number of things taken by the King himself from the vile country of Naharaina[2] . . . . . .

40 Straps of armour 2, brass . . . . pounds. The number of things taken by the soldiers of His Majesty from these vile lands, prisoners 10, mares 180, chariots 60 . . . .

[1] Hardly "oil:" perhaps "bitumen" or "pitch."

[2] Mesopotamia.

LINE

41 . . . . . reins . . . 15, brass armour . . . iron . . . . for the head 5, bows of the Kharu 5, the captures made by . . . .

42 . . . . . 226, chariot inlaid with gold 1, inlaid with gold and silver 30 . . . . .

43 . . . . . gums amphoras or,

44 . . . . . the tribute of the . . . .

# ANNALS OF THOTHMES III.

## TABLET OF THOTHMES III.

XVIIIth DYNASTY.

TRANSLATED BY S. BIRCH, LL.D.

THIS Tablet was found at Thebes in the Karnak quarter, and it has been published in the *Archæologia* vol. xxxviii, p. 373 and following, and translated by the late Vicomte de Rougé, *Revue Archéologique*, 1861, p. 196 and foll. It consists of a picture representing two scenes; in the first of which Thothmes III accompanied by Sem, the goddess of the West, offers wine and incense to the god Amen-Ra. The goddess Sem or "the West," or perhaps Khaft, holds a bow and arrows, a war axe and the emblem of life. The text of the inscription is in hieroglyphs. In the second picture Thothmes III is also represented as

offering incense. In its literary style these annals are so strongly poetic that the text may be considered to be a kind of hymn or song[1] recounting the victories of the great monarch Thothmes III and the allusions to his principal conquests and exploits are in an antithetical strain. Although it does not add any names of conquered places not otherwise found it helps us to complete the monumental history of the monarch. The Tablet was clearly executed towards the latter part of the reign of Thothmes III after the successful issues of his principal campaigns and about the time of his magnificent donations to the sanctuary of the god Amen-Ra at Karnak. The merits of the king and his successes are attributed to the Theban god, who says that he conferred the power to effect these conquests upon his son Thothmes III, in the usual style of the speeches often ascribed to the deities on the walls of the temples.

[1] A poetical translation of this monument is also given in the English Edition of Lenormant's Ancient History of the East, Vol. I. p. 234.

## TABLET OF THOTHMES III.

The first Scene to the right has the names and title of the god AMEN-RA, and King THOTHMES III with the inscription

"AMEN-RA King of the gods Lord of the heaven gives all life like the Sun.

"The Good god, Lord of the Upper and Lower world, Lord of diadems, Giver of life RA-MEN-KHEPER THOTHMES makes an offering of liquid

"KHAFT Lady of the country"[1]

The second Scene to the left has the inscription

"AMEN-RA King of the gods Lord of the heaven gives all life and joy

"The living Good god, Lord of the Upper and Lower world, and Lord of diadems, RA-MEN-KHEPER, THOTHMES, Giver of life, gives incense to AMEN-RA

"KHAFT Lady of the country."

LINE

1 The speech of AMEN-RA, Lord of the seats of the Upper and Lower world "Come to me, rejoice in seeing my perfections, my son, my supporter, RA-MEN-KHEPER, ever living I shine as thou wishest; my heart

2 dilates at thy happy coming to my temple, my hands touch thy limbs behind with delicious life, thou prevailest more than my form; I am set up

3 in my hall, I enrich thee and I give thee power and victory over all foreign lands. I have given thy spirits and the terrors of thee in all countries, the fear of thee every where to—

4 the poles of heaven; I have augmented the terrors of

[1] Or Heaven.

thee in all bellies; I have made the roarings of Thy Majesty turn back the Nine bow barbarians.[1] The Chiefs of all countries are clasped together in thy fist.

5 I extend my own hands, I tie for thee, I make a bundle of the Annu[2] by tens of thousands and thousands, the people of the North by hundreds of thousands as captives.

6 I have thrown down thy enemies under thy sandals, thou hast laid prostrate crowds of the obstinate. Also I have ordered for thee the earth throughout its length and breadth, the West and the East for thy seat;

7 thou penetratest all lands the heart joyful, none is resisting itself to the orders of Thy Majesty. I ordered thee in thy passage; thou approachest them, thou hast navigated the waters of the great Sea *and*

8 Naharaina[3] with power and victory. I ordered thee that they should hear thy roarings in their caverns I deprived their nostrils of the breath of life.

9 I made the victories of Thy Majesty turn back their hearts, my diadem was on thy brow, it dazed them, making them depart, taking by the hair the Katesh[4] foreigners.

10 It burnt all those in their settlements with flame decapitating the heads of the Amu[5] foreigners, their children fell to its power.

11 I made thy power encircle all lands my headdress has given light to thy subjects. There is not any rebel to thee in the circle of heaven, they come bearing their tribute on their backs

12 beseeching Thy Majesty as I ordered. I made the enemies bend before thee, their hearts withered, their limbs trembled.

[1] A common phrase for the Eastern foreigners.
[2] Or Petti, the Libyans. [3] Mesopotamia. [4] Kadytis.
[5] An Asiatic people.

13 [1]I have come I have given thee to smite the Chiefs of the land of Taha,[2] I have placed them under thy sandals; turning back their countries I have let them see Thy Majesty, as a Lord of Sunbeams thou shinest in their faces like my image.

14 I have come, I have given thee to strike those who belong to the land of Sat,[3] thou hast taken captive the heads of the Amu of Rutennu[4] they see Thy Majesty equipped with thy decorations, thou takest arms combatting in a war chariot.

15 I have come, I have given thee to smite the East thou hast marched in the borders of the land of Taneter[5] they see Thy Majesty like the star Sesht[6] which gives warmth by its fire and gives forth its dew.

16 I have come, I have given thee to smite the lands of the West, Kefa,[7] Asi[8] are under the terror of thee, I let them see Thy Majesty like a young bull bold in heart with pointed horns which nothing can resist.

17 I have come, I have given thee to smite those who are in the seats of the land of Maten,[9] they tremble through fear of thee, I let them see Thy Majesty like the devouring crocodile Lord of Terrors in the waters who is inapproachable.

18 I have come, I have given thee to smite those who belong to the Isles in the midst of the great sea with thy roarings, I let them see Thy Majesty as a slaughterer who rises on the back of his victim.

19 I have come, I have given thee to smite the Tahennu,[10] the isles of the Tena[11] are prevailed over by thy spirits,

[1] Here commences the passage poetized by Lenormant. [2] Gaza.
[3] The Eastern foreigners or Arabians. [4] Syria.
[5] The Holy Land. [6] A comet. [7] Phœnicia, [8] Asia, Assos.
[9] Asia Minor. [10] Libyans. [11] Or Uten, Danai or Dauni.

I let them see Thy Majesty like a raging lion laying on the bodies and mastering their hills.

20 I have come, I have given thee to smite the extremities of the waters, the circuit of the great sea is grasped in thy fist, I let them see Thy Majesty as a swooping hawk which takes at his glance what he chooses.

21 I have come, I have given thee to smite those who are in (the) estuaries and bind those who are in the sands (of the desert)[1] as living captives, I let them see Thy Majesty as a Southern jackal Lord of conducting and exploring, Hunter of the upper and lower country.

22 I have come I have given thee to smite the Anu of Kens,[2] and Remenen[3] is in thy grasp, I let them see Thy Majesty like thy two brothers.

I have laid their hands on thee to give thee power.

23 Thy two sisters, I have placed them behind thy head the arms of my Majesty are over (thy) face to repulse evil. I grant protectors to thee oh my beloved son, Powerful Bull[4] crowned in the Thebaid I have begotten thee in . . . . . (says the Lord of the upper and lower world)

24 THOTHMES ever living, I have performed all the desires of my existence I have set thee up a hall of eternal construction longer and larger then ever was, a great gateway . . . . . .

25 . . . . . AMEN-RA greater than the monuments of all the Kings who were, I ordered thee to make it, I am pleased with it, I am placed upon the throne of HORUS for millions of years, thy living image for ever and ever.

[1] Herusha. [2] Nubia. [3] Armenia.

[4] An Egyptian phrase applied to the king in his divine character.

# ANNALS OF THOTHMES III.

## ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF MEGIDDO.

TRANSLATED BY S. BIRCH, LL.D.

THE text of this inscription which is given in Lepsius *Denkmäler* records in detail the great battle of Megiddo between Thothmes III and one of the confederations of the small kings and princes of Palestine. This campaign commenced in the 22nd year of his reign and the defeat there suffered by the allies appears to have assured to Egypt the submission of the neighbouring countries and the extension of the power of Egypt to Nineveh, and possibly to India itself. The record of this campaign was placed on a wall near the cella subsequently erected by Philip II or Arridæus at Karnak, and it is one of the most important hieroglyphic historical texts known. Unfortunately it is much mutilated but not so greatly

that the reader cannot follow the general sense and meaning and supply the defective portions. It has been translated in the places already cited the *Archæologia* and Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 95. There is only one copy of the text, that of Lepsius, but it is well given, and doubts only exist as to the proper restoration of its lacunæ. The general order of these fragments is as follows: I. Lepsius, *Denkmäler* iii. 31 b. II. Lepsius, *Denkmäler* iii. 31 b. III. Lepsius, *Denkmäler* iii. 32. IV. Lepsius, *Auswahl*, Taf. xii. V. Lepsius, *Auswahl*, Taf. xii. *Denkmäler* iii. 31 a. VI. Lepsius, *Denkmäler* iii. 30 a. VII. Lepsius, *Denkmäler* iii. 30 b.

## FRAGMENT.

(2)

Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. iii. Bl. 31 b.

LINE

1 THE speech. Has been consecrated . . . . .
2 from the contribution of each (year).
3 . . . . . dwelling (in Thebes) . . . . . .
4 . . . . . .
5 . . . . . .
6 . . . . . .
7 . . . . . .
8 bearing tribute . . . . .
9 the awe of His Majesty in (their hearts) . . . . .
10 to remain in the mouths of the living . . . . . .
11 . . . . . of all countries, repulser of . . . . . .
1 the HORUS, the living Sun, the powerful Bull, crowned in Uas, the Lord of diadems (whose kingdom has increased like the sun in heaven
2 King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the earth, RA-MEN-KHEPER), the son of the Sun (THOTHMES may he live for ever !)
3 His Majesty ordered to be placed (on the wall . . . . . the extent of his power . . . . . )
4 a tablet at this temple which His Majesty made for
5 . . . the expedition in its name, together with the tribute and captives brought to it
6 all (which) he gave to his father the Sun. On the

. . . . day of the month Pharmuthi, of the 22nd year of his reign (His Majesty) proceeded from the city)
7 of Gailu[1] in his first campaign . . . . . to extend the
8 frontiers of Egypt through the victory (which his father AMEN-RA had promised him),
9 when it was the time appointed for (meeting) . . . . . .
10 hastened each (to take . . . to)
11 then . . . . the warriors . . . . . and the men . . . who were
12 in the fortress of the land of Sharuana,[2] commencing from Iuruta.[3]
13 continuing to the seats of the country were coming to rebel against His Majesty. On the 4th of Pashons, of the 23rd year the day of the festival of the royal crowns, at the
14 fortress made by the ruler of Katatu . . . . .
15 On the 5th of Pashons entering the place in triumph (with power)
16 defence, and justification to overthrow the vile enemy, to extend
17 the confines of Egypt as his father, AMEN-RA, (had predicted to him.)
18 Taking his way on the 16th of Pashons of the 23rd year to the fortress of Juhem, proceeded (His Majesty)
19 discoursing with his brave troops to tell the vile (enemies)
20 of KATESHU[4] to come and enter Maketa;[5] it was (done)
21 at the moment. He reviewed for him the Chiefs of the countries (who were)

[1] Pelusium or Tsur.
[2] Sharon. [3] Jericho. [4] Khodesh or Kadytis.
[5] Megiddo.

22 of the *race* of Egypt, with the Princes of Naharaina[1]
(of the Khita),
23 the Kharui, the Katu,[2] their horses and their army . . .
24 Inasmuch as he has said, that I stand at (the fortress
which is)
25 in Maketa I have told you . . . . .
26 They say in reply to His Majesty, what is it like going
on this road
27 which leads along so narrow. It has been . . . . .
28 say the enemy *are there* standing on . . . . .
29 moreover many, where a horse does not go behind
. . . . . .
30 men also. We are . . . . .
31 longing, to fight. The enemy were standing at the main
roads
32 of Aaaruna ;[3] they will not fight. Now (as to the course)
of the main roads
33 one of the roads, it leads . . . . us . . . . . ,
34 of the land Aanaka,[4] the other leads to . . . . . .
35 the north road of Gevta.[5] Let us proceed to the north
(of) Maketa,[6]
36 How will our mighty Lord march on (the way in
triumph there). Let His Majesty make
37 us go on that secret road. Were . . . . . .
38 the guides . . . . . to overthrow (the vile enemy.)
39 spoken as before the words of His Majesty were to them
40 I am the beloved of the Sun, praised by my father
AMEN, renewed by the Sun
41 with life. I will go on this road of Aa-
42 runa, if there is any going on it. Be ye on
43 the roads ye mention, if ye can go on them.

[1] Mesopotamia. [2] Syria.
[3] Ajalon. [4] Anakim or Anakites.
[5] Gaza or Gath. [6] Megiddo.

44 Ye can follow me. Call they
45 abominable opposers of the Sun. Because His Majesty proceeds in
46 another direction he fears us. They call out,
47 saying to His Majesty, "Thy father AMEN-RA, Lord of the foundations of the earth, who dwells in Thebes, has made thee;
48 let us follow thee, wherever Thy Majesty goes.
49 let us serve behind (thee) (His Majesty went)
50 in face of the entire army to . . . . .
51 AMEN gave its roads leading to . . . . .
52 alive to say. I do not" . . . . .
53 before His Majesty in . . . . . .
54 coming forth himself before his troops, giving . . . . . (marching)
55 on foot, there being a horse walking behind (him). (His Majesty was)
56 at the head of his army. On the 19th Pashons of the 23rd year of his reign, it was watched
57 at the King's pavilion at the fortress of Aaaruna.[1] His Majesty proceeded
58 along by boat. His Majesty said I have come bearing the commands of my father AMEN-RA, Lord of the thrones of the earth . . . . .
59 before me, oh Sun of the two worlds HARMACHIS (terrifying) gave
60 . . . his father AMEN Lord of the thrones of the world power and force . . . . . .
61 over me proceeding. Said . . . . (I have come . . .) along
62 with much devastation . . . . . .
63 the southern tip from A(anaka) . . . . . .

[1] Ajalon.

64 the northern tip from the southern angle . . . . .
65 His Majesty in its power in . . . . .
66 they will overthrow the enemy . . . . . .
67 . . . . . .

## FRAGMENT.
## (3)

Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. iii., Bl. 32.

LINE

1 AARUNA,[1] the powerful troops of His Majesty followed to (the valley of)

2 Aaruna,[1] the van coming forth to the valley (of Aaruna).

3 They filled the gap of that valley, and were saying to His Majesty . . . . . .

4 would His Majesty proceed with his valiant archers who fill (the gap of the valley)

5 let us listen to our powerful Lord in the . . . . .

6 let us guard our Lord: his troops and men followed.

7 (after them). The army advanced after, calling to fight

8 at the valley of the enemy call we not, we attend . . . . . .

9 our troops firm. His Majesty was beyond them (going)

10 in front guarding the advance of his valiant troops, when the capt-

11 ains advanced coming forth on that road; it was the time of

12 noon when His Majesty reached the south of Maketa on the shore of the waters of Kaina,[2] it being the seventh hour from noon. His Majesty pitched (his tent) to make a speech before his whole army, saying, "Hasten ye, put on your helmets, for I shall fly to fight with the vile enemy on the morning." Therefore was . . . . .

13 a rest at the doors of the King's tent, made by the baggage of the Chiefs, things of the followers and sup-

[1] Ajalon. [2] Keneh.

plies. Was passed the watch (word) of the army, who say, "Firm, firm, watch, watch, watch actively at the King's pavilion." The land of Meru, and those born of the South and North have come to address His Majesty. Moreover on the 22nd day of the month Mesori, the day of the festival of the new moon and laying the royal crown, on the morning then in presence of the entire army was passed (the watchword)

14 His Majesty proceeding in his chariot of gold, distinguished by the decorations of work, like the terrible HORUS, the Lord who makes things, like MENTU Lord of Uas, like his father AMEN-RA through the might of his arms. The south horn of the army of His Majesty was at the shore (of the lake) of Kaina,[1] the northern horn (extending) to the North-west of Maketa,[2] His Majesty being in the midst of them, the god AMEN being the protection in his active limbs, he (wounding them with)

. . . . .

15 his arms. His Majesty prevailed over them before his army. They saw His Majesty prevailing over them, they fell prostrate on the (plains) of Maketa[2] on their faces through terror; they left their horses, their chariots of gold and silver which drew them, and were drawn in their clothes to that fortress. The men shut up in that fortress took off

16 their clothes to haul them up to that fortress. Then the troops of His Majesty took no heed of capturing the things of the fallen. The (army reached) Maketa[2] at the moment when the vile enemy of Kateshu and the vile enemy of the fortress were striving to let them enter the fortress. His Majesty frightened (them)

17 . . . . . their arms, he prevailed by his diadem over them. Their horses and their chariots of gold and of

[1] Keneh. [2] Megiddo.

silver were captured, were brought (to His Majesty) . . . . . their (dead) lay in ranks[1] like fishes on the ground. The great army of His Majesty turned away from counting the things captured. Then the camp was captured . . . . . in which was (his) son

18 . . . . . of his whole army in joy giving thanks. (His Majesty ordered) . . . . . should be given to his son (the troops) of His Majesty, praising his power. They were bringing the spoil they took of hands, living captives, horses chariots of silver, and gold of . . . . .

19 the words of his troops in saying make ye ready . . . power . . . . . give ye . . . . . the Sun upon that day, inasmuch as every Chief of the countries and places came rebellious into it, inasmuch as the fulness of a thousand fortresses, is the fulness of Maketa, the fulness worked by the Sun (in heaven) . . . . .

20 . . . . . the Chief of his troops to return . . . . . all . . his place . . they measure the fortress . . . . . in (or of) ditches . . . . laden with the green wood of their beautiful woods. His Majesty delighting himself with the eastern citadel of the fortress to watch . . . . .

21 . . . . . with the wall of the tower . . . . . his tower . . . . . which he made in the name of RA-MEN-KHEPER-UAH-SAT (Holder of the plains of the Sati,[2]) giving persons to watch at His Majesty's doors, saying to them, Steady, steady, watch, watch. His Majesty

22 . . . . . them outside which was behind this wall, guiding them to come forth to attack the gate of their citadel. For His Majesty strengthened this fortress against the vile enemy, and his vile troops placed on the day, in his name, in the name of the port of . nnat . . . .

23 their . . . . . placed on a roll of leather in the temple of AMEN, on that day. Then the Chiefs of that land came,

[1] Or "quivering." [2] East.

(bringing the usual tribute), adoring the spirits of His Majesty, asking breath for their nostrils of the greatness of his power and the importance of his spirits . . . . .

24 . . . . . came to his spirits, having their tribute of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, *turquoise*[1] and alabaster, vessels of wine, flocks to the army of His Majesty, making the prisoners bear the tribute in the galley, when His Majesty faced the Chiefs as aforesaid of . . . . . .

25 . . . . . living captives 240, hands 83, mares 2041, fillies 191, cattle 6,[2] plants . . . . . chariots plated with gold, an ark of gold of the enemy, an excellent chariot plated with gold of the Chief of . . . . .

26 892 chariots of his vile army, total 924; 1 excellent suit of brazen armour of the enemy, a brass suit of armour of the Chief of Maketa, 200 suits of armour of his vile army, 502 bows, his delight, 7 poles of the pavilion of the enemy plated with silver. Then the army took . . . . .

27 . . . . . 296, bulls 1,949, *great* she goats 2,000, white goats 20, 500. The total amount of things led behind by His Majesty from the things of the place of the enemy (who was in the land of the Ruten), from the fortress of Nunaa, from the fortress of Anaukasa, from Hurankar, with the things which belonged to the fortresses placed in the waters brought by . . . . .

28 . . . . . 38 of their family, 87 sons of Chiefs of the enemy and of the leaders with him 5, others, slaves, male and female, including children, 1796, prisoners who surrendered starved out of the enemy 103; total 2503; besides gems, gold dishes, and various vases

29 . . . . . a great cup the work of the Kharu,[3] dishes . . . . . various vases, for drinking, having great stands,

[1] Or "glass" or blue porcelain. [2] *Aber*, "bulls" or "stallions."
[3] Syria.

97 swords weighing 1784 pounds, gold in rings fashioned by the hand of the workman, and silver in rings 966 pounds, 1 ounce, a silver statue made

30 . . . . . the head of gold, seats of . . . . . *men* of ivory, ebony and cedar, inlaid with gold, chairs of the enemies 6, footstools belonging to them 6, 6 large tables of ivory and cedar inlaid with gold and all precious stones, a stick in shape of a sceptre[1] of that Chief, inlaid with gold throughout[2] . . . statues

31 of the fallen Chief, of ebony inlaid with gold, of which the heads are of gold . . . . . that . . . . . vessels of brass, an infinite quantity of the clothes of the enemy. When the fields of the district were taken to calculate their produce to the King's house, to lay down their quota, the total of the quantity brought to His Majesty from the plains of Maketa was . 280,200 bushels of corn,

32 besides what was cut and taken away. His Majesty's army came . . . . . the tribute of the Ruten on the 40th year, brought by the Chief of As-suru,[3] 1 great stone of lapis lazuli, weighing 20 pounds 9 ounces, 2 stones of true lapis lazuli, total 3; 30 pounds of . . . . . total 50 pounds 9 ounces, good lapis lazuli of Babel, 3 *heads*[4] vases of Assuru of stone . . . . .

33 very many, the tribute of Chiefs of the Rutennu,[5] the daughter of a Chief, ornaments silver, gold, lazuli lapis of the country . . . persons . . . 30, the slaves male and female of its tribute 65, gold chariots . . . . . 100, boxes of gold 4, a chariot of (silver inlaid) with *pure gold*[6] . . . . . with boxes of studs 5, total 10; buffalo steers 45, bulls 500, (total) 1200 . . . . . .

[1] *Karukaru*, or "cylinder." [2] "Besides great sword handles."
[3] Assyria. [4] Or "covers" or "handles."
[5] Syria. [6] *Gam*, or *uasm* "electrum," or according to some "copper."

34 which could not be weighed, silver dishes and beaten out plates 104 pounds, 5 ounces, a gold makargina[1] inlaid at the border with lapis lazuli, a brass armour bordered with gold . . . . a brass . silver . numerous suits of armour,

35 823 amphoras of incense, 1718 amphoras of wine, and honey . . . . . numerous, cut and set studs, ivory, and cedar, sycamore a vast quantity of firewood all the best of that country . . . . .

36 by all the places which His Majesty went round given in his camp. In the 42nd year the amount of the tribute brought by the spirits of His Majesty from the land of the Ruten, the tribute of Assuru was h(orses) . . . . . .

37 bracelets of the leather of a masha, bolts of a chariot with the heads of wood . . . . . 170 shekels (or rings)

38 . . . . . 343, 50 cedars, 190 mulberry trees, 205 vines, fig trees 340, 20.

39 willows . . . . . 3000 various vases.

[1] Or *kamarigina*—a "breast plate," or "covering" of some kind of a person.

## FRAGMENT.
## (5)

Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. iii. Bl. 31 a.
Auswahl, xii. l. 42-54.

LINE

1 . . . . gold . . . .

2 shekels (rings), tata, abha stone,[1] stibium, gums . . . cattle of the country, wood for burning, the work of the vile Kush, 80 pounds 1 ounce of gold . . . 0 male and female slaves, cattle steers (beside boats laden with)

3 ivory and ebony, and all the products of that land the quota (of the Kush in that year was) . . . 34 negro slaves, male and female, 94 bulls and steers besides boats laden with all good things. The quota of the Uauat was . . . . . (Then His Majesty was)

4 in his 13th expedition, His Majesty destroyed . . . . . (in the) confines of Anaukasa. The amount of the captives brought by the army from the confines of the Anaukasa was 50 living captives, horses . . . chariots . . . in

5 utensils, men surrendered of the territory of Anaukasa . . . . the tribute brought to His Majesty's spirits in that year was 327 horses (*mares*) 522 slaves male and female, 9 chariots inlaid with gold and silver, painted 61, total 70, a collar (of lapis lazuli) . . . . a goblet, dishes,

6 heads of goats, and head of a lion, vases the work of the Gahai[2] . . . . 2821 pounds 3 ounces, with 276 of bricks of the iron in its land[3] 47 bricks of steel, 656 jars of incense, 3 jars of sweet and green dates, 1752 amphoras of oil, 156 jars of wine, 12 bulls, . . . . 46 asses, 1 deer.

[1] Or "glass," *aba-geene*, copt.
[2] Or Tsaha, a port of Phœnicia.
[3] Or "metal ore."

7 5 tusks of ivory, a table of ivory and cedar, *white manna* 68 pounds . . . . 21 (suits of armour) spears, shields and bows . . . . all kinds of weapons and fragrant wood of that country, all the best products of that country. Then came every city supplying all good things according to the rate of their yearly produce in . . . . a galley the work of the Remenu[1]

8 likewise the quota of the Gahai in corn, green dates, and incense . . . . the tribute brought by the Chief of the Asi out of his land . . was the iron of his country[2] . . . (bricks), 3 horses. The tribute of the Chief of Arurekh[3] in that year *was* male and female slaves, 2 bricks of the iron[4] of his country, 35 logs of cedar wood, with all the fragrant wood of his country. (*There was*) brought to the spirits of His Majesty from the land of Punt[5]

9 gums 240 *sa* measures, the work of the vile KUSH gold 100 pounds . . . . 6 . . . . 36 negro slaves male and female 111 steers, 185 bulls, total 306, besides boats laden with ivory and ebony and all the good products of that land with the quota of that land the work of the Uauat . . . . . 2844, male and female slaves

10 Negroes 16, steers 77, besides (boats) laden with all the good products of that land. *In* the 39th year His Majesty *was* in the land of the Rutennu[6] in his 14th campaign after he went . . . . . the fallen of the Shasu.[7] The amount (of tribute brought by) . . . . (was) 197 male and female slaves

11 229 mares, gold dishes with handles 12 pounds . . . ounces, real (lapis lazuli) 30 pounds, silver dishes, a goblet a vase in shape of the head of a bull, 325 various vases with silver in rings making 1497 pounds 1 ounce, a chariot . . . . making

[1] Armenia. [2] Or "in its ore." [3] Erech. [4] Or "metal in its ore."
[5] Arabia. [6] Northern Syria and Mesopotamia. [7] Arabs.

12 white precious stone, white manna,[1] natron, and all the various precious stones of (that) land . . . incense, sweet dates, fresh dates, oil, honey (amphoras) 364, 1405 jars of wine, 84 bulls 1283 little goats (kids) brass . . . .

13 . . . of that land with all the products of that land. Then came every city, supplying all good things according to their rate of the yearly contribution navigating . . . . Horizon like the amount of . . . . . (the tribute

14 of the land of Gahai (was) corn, incense dates, wine . . . . .

[1] Or "white cornelian," or "alabaster."

## FRAGMENT.

(6)

Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth., iii. Bl. 30 a.

LINE

1 . . . . . of the Asi, 2 tusks of ivory, 40 bricks of iron, 1 brick of lead, the tribute

2 (of Kush) that year, 144 pounds, 3 ounces of gold, 101 negro slaves, male and female . . . . . bulls.

3 . . . . . 35 steers, 54 bulls, total 89, besides boats laden with

4 . . . . . 2 pounds, the amount of tribute of the Chiefs of the Rutennu[1] brought by His Majesty's spirits (in that year).

5 . . . . . 40 bricks, falchion of *steel*, brass spears.

6 . . . . . 18 tusks of ivory, 241 mares, 184 bulls . . . . . goats.

7 . . . . . .incense; also the tribute of the Chief of the great Khita in that year was gold.

8 96 pounds, 2 ounces, negroes, 8 slaves, 13 boys for servants total 21; bulls.

9 . . . . . 3144 pounds of gold, 3 ounces, 35 steers, moreover boats laden with ivory.

10 . . . . . His Majesty went on the road of (towards) the haven, destroying the fort of Aranatu[2] and the fortresses of

11 Kanana,[3] laying waste the fort with its mound, approaching the land of Tunep, he laid waste the fort, took its corn, cutting down its groves.

12 and those alive of the troops, bringing them along in

[1] Syria. [2] Orontes. [3] Canaan.

peace, approaching the confines of Kateshu, taking the fortresses in it

13 The number of the vile Naharaina[1] who were given up with their horses, 391 slaves, 39 hands, 44 mares.

14 . . . . . in that year 205 male and female slaves, 67 horses, 3 gold dishes, 3 silver dishes, 3 craters, a table with silver

15 . . . . . 47 bricks of lead, 1100 pounds of lead, colours, asmar,[2] all the gems of the country, brass suits of armour, utensils . . . . .

16 all the excellent wood of that country. Then came every city contributing all good things according to the rate of their yearly produce. The quota of the country of

17 . . . . . with dishes, heads in shape of bulls, weighing 341 pounds 2 ounces true lapis lazuli, 1 stone weighing 42 pounds,[3] a good cedar chair, iron of his country.

18 . . . . . of Tanai,[4] a silver jug of the fabric of the Kefau,[5] with 3 vases of iron, with silver handles, weighing 56 pounds . .

19 with all the good things of that land. The quota of the vile Kush also the work of the Uat in that year was gold 2374 pounds 1 ounce.

20 . . . . . Va. Then His Majesty ordered that the extent of his power which he had made, commencing in his 21st and continuing to his 32nd year, should be recorded, and this table was set up at the sacred gate; to make him a giver of life for ever!

[1] Mesopotamia.

[2] *Asmar*, "emery."

[3] Literally 42 ounces, but an evident error.

[4] Danai.

[5] Phœnicia.

## FRAGMENT.

### (7)

Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. iii. Bl. 30. b.

LINE

1 . . . . . from the land of the Ruten, from the station built by His Majesty belonging to him. The Chiefs of the Remenn were pleased that its name should be that of "Ra-men-kheper (Thothmes III) chastising the . . . . ." Then approached the Chiefs of the cities . . . . .

2 . . . . . the land. I celebrated to him the festival of the campaign also, when I came from the first campaign from overthrowing the vile Rutennu, and extending the frontiers of Kami.

In the 23rd year of power, I (celebrated) to him

3 (the festival, making it to coincide) with the first festival of Amen-Ra, performing it for 5 days. The second celebration of the festival of the campaign occupied one day of the god, corresponding with the celebration of the second festival of Amen, making the performance for 5 days. The third festival of the campaign coincided with the fifth festival of Amen Ra, giving . . . . . life

4 . . . . a great sacrifice for the festival of victory which I made anew, of bread and beer, cows, calves, bulls, geese, white antelopes, gazelles, oryxes, incense, wine, fruit, white food, bread and all (good and pure) things

5 . . . . . year . . . . on the 14th day of the month Choiak, when the person of that noble god is drawn rowed out of his Southern Thebes. I made to him a great sacrifice on the day when he returned to his southern

quarter, consisting of bread and beer, cows, calves, bulls, geese, frankincense, and wine

6 . . . . . on the first campaign he let me fill his tabernacle, for his people to make for him fine white linen fabrics and dresses for stocking working the plains to make (clothes) to fill the press of his (temple).

7 . . . . . me His Majesty on the good path. The number of doorkeepers, male and female negroes and negresses, which I gave to my father AMEN-RA, beginning on the 23rd year (of my reign) and terminating on the setting up of this tablet at this temple, filling the cells, amounted to 878.

8 . . . . . north and south, two milch cows of cattle of the Gahai, one milch cow of the cattle of Kush, total four milch cows, to supply the milk kept in pails of gold at sun-set daily (to make) the rites of my father AMEN-RA . . . . .

9 . . . . . I gave to him three fortresses of the Upper Rutennu; Anaukasa is the name of one, Junu(m)a[1] the name of another, Hurankalu the name of another; compelled to supply a yearly contribution for the sacred food of my father AMEN RA.

10 . . . . . all (the work) of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, and turquoise. I gave to him gold, silver, lapis lazuli, turquoise, brass, iron, lead, armour, and very many . . . . . to make the monuments of my father AMEN RA.

11 . . . . . also I gave him pairs of geese to fill the lakes, to supply the sacred food daily, for I have given him two trussed geese at sunset daily, a charge to remain for ever.

12 . . . . . of various loaves bread 1000 portions. I ordered this offering of sacred food of different kinds of loaves 1000 portions to be doubled when I went to attack

[1] Janoah.

the Rutennu in the first campaign, rendering thanks in the great temple of the RA-MEN-KHEPER (THOTHMES III), the splendour of edifices.

13 . . . . . 632 of various bread in loaves for the daily festivals, besides what was before. I assigned to him very many fields and cultivated gardens selected from the north and south to make a tract to supply corn . . . . . .

14 . . . . . during the year, of bread and beer, cows, calves, bulls, geese, incense, wine, fruit, and all good things, charged on the yearly produce. I augmented the food and drink to make a thanksgiving as father AMEN had ordered . . . . . at sun-rise.

15 . . . . . I gave him divine offerings of bread and beer giving him thanks on the daily festival that of the 6th of the month, as was done on the . . . Then I found a good . . . . . to plough the corn (in the fields) . . . .

16 . . . . . I added sacred offerings of food and drink to the four great obelisks which I made anew a gift to my father (AMEN consisting) of 100 rations of different kinds of bread and 4 draughts of beer, of which each obelisk had 25 portions of bread and 1 draught of beer. I increased the sacred food of the statues of . . . .

17 placed at the threshold of the door. I increased the offerings to him at night (consisting) of various bread and beer, geese, incense, wine, white food, bread, and all good things offered at sunset daily. I gave more than was before.

18 . . . . . I augmented to him the offerings at the festival of the bringing forth of Khem (consisting) of bulls, geese, incense, wine, fruit, and all good things; the things offered amounted to 120 things on behalf of my

health. I ordered that a great hin[1] of wine should be added.

19 . . . . . charged on the yearly revenue beyond what was before. I also made for him a meadow anew to be planted with all kinds of excellent trees whence to procure vegetables for the sacred meals daily. I augmented the gifts beyond what was before.

20 . . . . . in my benefits for the entire earth, when I made all the monuments, laws, rites, which I gave to AMEN-RA, Lord of the foundations[2] of the earth who dwells in Thebes in the great house for I know his spirits, I am acquainted with his wishes being at rest in the midst of the body.[3] I know . . . . .

21 . . . . . he has ordered to be done, all things he has wished done, according to the intentions of his mind, my heart prompting my arm to act for my father. I devise to make all things for my father.

22 . . . . . I . . . . . creating all things, enlarging the monuments, placing, increasing in proportion, purifying, dedicating, and supplying this temple of my father AMEN-RA, Lord of the foundations of the earth who dwells in Thebes, in all directions . . . . .

23 . . . . . to him daily when I ordered to supply the festivals from the beginning of the year to the end of the year, to open the court of my father AMEN-RA, who dwells in Thebes when I directed that the things should be prepared for the libations and incense.

24 . . . . . charged on the yearly revenue. I do not say the contrary to boast of what I have done, saying that I have done more when I do it not, so causing men to contradict it. I have done these (things) appointed by my father AMEN-RA.

[1] Jar, about ¾ pint. [2] Or thrones.
[3] *I.e.* "of his heart."

25 . . . . . declaring works which have not been done to him. Inasmuch as heaven knows it, earth knows it, the whole world sees it hourly. I have lived beloved of the Sun, praised by AMEN-RA, my father. My nostril is renewed with life. I have done what is proper (to him.)

26 . . . . . be awake on guard unceasingly for all your dues pure and clean of divine things watch ye in the hours when they come in your heart, close your mouth, let each look to his foot; . . . . .

27 . . . . . ordering my images to be carried in procession across the monuments I made. I sent to you (oh images) to come before, celebrating the festival at the door of his house; clothing our images with clothes. Likewise I filled the treasuries with . . . . . .

28 . . . . . I have presented with all kinds of vegetables; likewise cleansed the meadow anew. I stocked the selected fields, which I charged on the annual revenue with cattle. I filled the altar with milk. There was frankincense (infinite).

29 . . . . . tables of silver and gold to hold in your hands my images, when I took my male issue to bring forth my statues the day of carrying my images in procession; asking my father to count the works which I had made in . . . . . .

30 . . . . . bread as aforesaid at sunset daily beyond what was before, 3305 rations, of various bread for the sacred food; 132 draughts of beer, 2 tahut[1] of corn, 2 measures of corn, 2 measures of dates . . . . . geese.

31 . . . . . geese, pigeons, 5 aab of incense, 2 jars of wine, 4 pecks of honey, fruit, manna, a *barrel* of beer, 3 heaps of flour and bread to the amount of 15 bushels, green . . . . . flesh . . . . . .

[1] Pyramids.

32 . . . . . 2 oryxes, 6 gazelles, 9 goats, 125 geese,[1] 1100 pairs of geese of another kind, 258 pairs of pigeons, 5237 pigeons of another kind, 1140 jars of wine, 4 obelisks of incense, 319 pyramidal piles of food, incense.

33 . . . . . 103 bushels of incense, making 314 *pet* of incense, 31 amphoras of green frankincense, 5 bushels of gums 236 meals of bulls, 258 meals of geese, 24 obelisks of food, 562 pyramidal cakes . . . . .

34 The restoration of this monument was made by the RA-SER-KHEPERU, whom the Sun has chosen (HORUS) to his father AMEN-RA, Lord of the earth's foundations; he may be a giver of life like the Sun.

[1] Or "ganders."

# ANNALS OF THOTHMES III.

## INSCRIPTION OF AMEN-EM-HEB.

TRANSLATED BY S. BIRCH, LL.D.

THIS Inscription was found in the walls of a tomb at Gournah. Published and translated by Dr. G. Ebers, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische, Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, 1873, S. 1-9 and S. 63, 64; and by M. Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, Tom. II. 1873, p. 279-306; *Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles lettres. Comptes rendues* Paris Tom. I. 1873, p. 155. This important tablet gives the date of the reign of Thothmes III which was upwards of 53 years as the king died on the 30th Phamenoth, in the 54th year of his reign, evidently having been a mere child when he ascended the throne.

The events recorded in it complete the account of those described in the Statistical Tablet, Amen-em-heb having been engaged in some of the campaigns mentioned in the Tablet, and brought back portion of the spoil. This inscription with that of Aahmes and the tomb of Rekmara helps to complete the history of the reign of Thothmes III.

## INSCRIPTION OF AMEN-EM-HEB.

LINE

1 I was the better part of the Ruler living and well, the half of the heart of the King of Upper Egypt, the glory of the heart of the King of Lower Egypt, I followed

2 my Lord at his footsteps in the land of the north and south as he wished, I was accompanying his feet, I *did not leave* him

3 out of sight, his power and his valour were intrepid. I took spoil in that land of

4 Kabu,[1] I led thence Amu[2] 3 persons, living captives. When His Majesty approached Naharaina[3]

5 I took 3 persons as my spoil thence, I set them before Thy Majesty as living captives.

6 Again I took spoil at the expedition in the vicinity of the land of Uan[4] on the west of Kharubu,[5] I brought

7 Amu living prisoners 13 persons, 70 live asses, 13 weapons of brass and weapons inlaid with gold:

8 I again took spoil in the expedition of the land of Karukamasha,[6] I led thence . . . *persons*

9 living captives, I transported them *on* the waters of Naharaina,[3] they were in my hand *as slaves*.

10 (I set them) before my Lord. He rewarded me with a great reward, the amount (was) a chain

11 (of gold). Again I saw the power of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt RA-MEN-KHEPER (THOTHMES III) the giver of life in the land of Sentaru[7] he made . . . . . .

[1] Unknown. [2] Asiatics. [3] Mesopotamia.
[4] Uan, or Van. [5] The Chalybes or Aleppo. [6] Carchemish. [7] Singar.

12 (they) were captured by me before the King ; I brought a hand thence. He gave me gold for my reward, the amount (was) a gold chain

13 and 2 silver rings. Again I saw his valour I was among his followers capturing

14 Kateshu,[1] I did not leave the place where he was, I led officers 2 persons, (living prisoners I placed them)

15 before the King the Lord of the two worlds THOTHMES ruler of the Thebaid, the ever-living he gave me *gold* for (my) valour before all persons,

16 the amount (was) a gold chain, the buckle (in shape) of a lion, 3 collars, 2 flies, and 4 bracelets. I saw my Lord in . . . . . .

17 . . . . . in all his forms in the confines of the land of (Ga . . . .

18 ha . and again he gave me. I was raising . . . . . my . . . . . (for).

19 I again saw his might in that land of Takhisa (I brought thence) the hand of a dead man

20 I spoiled it before the King, I brought three Amu as living prisoners, gave to me

21 my Lord gold for a reward, the amount was 2 gold collars, 4 bracelets, 2 flies, a lion for my person.

22 Again I saw a second time a good work done by the Lord of the two countries in the land of Nii[2] he hunted 120 elephants on account of their tusks ; of (them was)

23 captured the largest one which was among them he rushed in front of His Majesty I cut his hand,[3] he *fell* alive *in my power*.

24 I went also in the water which is between the two rocks, my Lord rewarded me with gold.

25 He gave me . . . . . dresses, three pairs. The King of Kateshu made a mare come forth

[1] Kadesh, or Kadytis. [2] Nineveh, or else India. [3] His trunk.

26 in front (against His Majesty). She ran in the midst of my troops, I followed after her
27 on foot having my weapon. I ripped up her belly, I cut off her tail, I gave
28 it to the King, praised be god for it. He gave me joy, it filled my belly with delight it united my limbs.
29 His Majesty ordered that all the valour of his troops should be exerted to open the new walls at Kateshu, I
30 broke them open, I led all the valiant. No other person went before me, I brought officers
31 two living prisoners. Again His Majesty ordered that I should be rewarded on account of it . . . . in all
32 good places, giving satisfaction to the heart of His Majesty that I had made this capture. I was Captain (of the . . . . boat)
33 I ordered the towing in . . . . . at the head of his companions
34 in rowing [the boat] in the good festival of (Southern) Thebes to the place of . . . . . mankind in joy.
35 So the King ended his time of existence of many good years of victory, power and was made
36 justified, commencing at the 1st year and ending at his 54th year in the 30th of the month Phamenoth of *the reign* of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt
37 RA-MEN-KHEPER THOTHMES (III), justified, he ascended to heaven, and joined the Sun's disk a divine follower, urgent in doing, it shone to him as the morning, he was
39 the disk of the Sun coming out of the heaven. The anointed King of Upper and Lower Egypt RA-AA-KHEPERU the Son of the Sun AMENHETEP (II) the giver of life
39 was established on the throne of his father he rested in the royal residence, all invaders he thrust back, the Kau[1] . . . .

[1] "Miserable."

of the land of Tert (Teshr) he hewed off the heads of their chiefs, crowned as HORUS the son of ISIS, he took (possession of) that land. The inhabitants of the land of Kenem,[1] every land bowed to his spirits, their tribute was on their backs

*he gave* them the breath of life. His Majesty saw me for I led him in his boat (on the river)

(Shaa) ta-em-ua[2] was its name. I *was rowing it with* my hands in the good festival of Southern Apt[3] also I arranged . . . . .

. . . . I went also into the harem of the palace, I was allowed to stand in presence of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt RA-AA-KHEPERU (AMENOPHIS II). It was an honour. I was bowing myself forthwith before His Majesty. He said to me, I know about thee. It has been told me all thou hast done

following my father. Given to thee for an honour that thou hast commanded the troops, as was said, watch over the valiant troops of the King. *The officer Mahu performed all* his words.[4]

[1] The word may mean vineyards.

[2] M. Chabas reads "crowned in the boat of Ma." It is perhaps "crowned by Truth."

[3] A part of Thebes.

[4] Or, "Be a true (faithful) officer doing all his words."

## THE THIRD SALLIER PAPYRUS.

# THE WAR OF RAMESES II.

WITH

# THE KHITA.

TRANSLATED BY

PROF. E. L. LUSHINGTON.

THIS papyrus is one of several which belonged to the late M. Sallier of Aix in Provence, who is said to have purchased them of an Egyptian Mariner. Champollion, who saw enough of it to ascertain its general import, quotes some sentences in his Grammar; and mentions it in his *Letters from Egypt* (2nd edition, 1833). His pupil Salvolini wrote a short treatise *Le Campagne de Ramses le grand contre les Cheta*, 1835 which contains an analysis of a few sentences; but the first published attempt to translate nearly the whole of the papyrus was made by the Vicomte de Rougé in 1856, in a treatise read before the Institute of France. In 1858 Mr. Goodwin, exercising independent judgment, while mostly concurring with de Rougé, published a version in the *Cambridge Essays* of that year. It has been subse-

quently treated in various parts by Brugsch, Mariette, Dümichen, and lastly by de Rougé again, with an additional page acquired by the Louvre collection from the family of M. Raifet its late possessor. *Recueil de Travaux, etc.*, 1870.

When the present papyrus was written is a question not easily answered. The original composition is apparently in the last fragmentary lines of p. 11 assigned to the 7th year of Ramses, 2 years after the exploit which it glorifies. De Rougé considers it certain that this is a very inaccurate copy of an earlier authentic document; how long an interval lies between the two is hard to ascertain, but we know the age of the Ramesside dynasties was fruitful in authors and copyists. *Pentaur*, whose name is affixed to this document, if he was still, as seems to be the case, a well known scribe during the reign of the 2nd Ramses' son and successor *Be-n-ra*, must like his first master, have far exceeded the usual number of years allotted to man.

The Chronology of Egyptian history is too much disputed a subject for us to name confidently in years B.C. an approximate date for this narrative. It may however be stated that some of the highest authorities regard the great Ramses as the father of the Pharaoh in whose time Moses led the Israelites from Egypt. The well-attested duration of his reign (66 years) is computed by Lepsius to extend from 1388 to 1322 B.C.

# THIRD SALLIER PAPYRUS.

## RAIFET FRAGMENT.

LINE

1 Several days after that King RAMSES was in the town Ramses Miamon;

2 moving northward he reached the border of Katesh;[1] then marched onward like his father

3 (MENTU, towards) Hanruta.[2] The 1st brigade of AMMON,[3] that brings victory to King RAMSES (accompanied him),

4 he was nearing the town; then the vile Chief of Cheta came; he gathered (forces)

5 from the margin of the sea to the land of Cheta; came all the Naharina,[4] the Airatu,

6 the Masu, the Kashkash, the Kairkamasha,[5] the Leka, Katuatana, Katesh, Akarita,

7 Anaukasa, the whole Mashanata likewise, nor left he silver or gold in his land, he stript it of all its treasures (which) he brought with him.

[1] Katesh or Kadesh, on the Orontes, probably different from any of the towns mentioned in Scripture with the same appellation "the holy city."

[2] Orontes.

[3] Ammon, chief god of Thebes (Diospolis, No-Ammon Nahum 3. 8) in compositions of this age appears often as the one Supreme deity. Ra, the Sun god, and Tum or Atum, the Setting Sun, are identified with him—Mentu is a form of Ra in his warlike attributes.

[4] Naharina, Aram Naharain, Gen. xxiv. 10, Deut xxiii. 4, Mesopotamia.

[5] Kairkamasha, Carchemish (2 Chron. xxxv. 10) Gargamish in the Assyrian annals, on the road from Katesh to the Euphrates, not to be identified with Circesium.

LINE

8 The vile Chief of Cheta with many allies accompanying him lay ambushed to northwest

9 (of Katesh). Now King RAMSES was all alone, no other with him, the brigade of AMMON marching after him: the brigade

10 (of RA?) at the dyke west of the town Shabutuna; the brigade of Ptah[1] in the centre,

11 the brigade of SET[2] on the border of the land of Amairo.[3] Then the vile Cheta Chief made (an advance)

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## THIRD SALLIER PAPYRUS.—PAGE 1.

1 with men and horses numerous as sand; they were 3 men on a car, they had joined with every champion

2 of Chetaland, equipt with all war gear, they did not . . . . . they lay in ambush hidden to north-west of the town

3 Katesh; then they charged the brigade of RA HARMACHIS[4] in the centre, as they were marching on, and feared not to fight.

4 Foot and horse of King RAMSES gave way before them: they then took Katesh on the western bank of Hanruta;

5 this news was told to the King, then he rose as MENTU, he seized his arms for battle, he clutched his

6 corselet like BAR[5] in his hour; the great horse that bore him, "Victory in THEBES" his name, from

[1] Ptah; chief god of Memphis, Hephaestus of the Greeks, perhaps a more primeval deity than Ammon, and representing a ruder conception.

[2] Set, called also Suti and perhaps Sutech, a destructive and harmful power, the Loki of the Egyptian Asgard. The Greeks identified him with Typhon.

[3] Amairo, perhaps Amorites.

[4] Harmachis, *Har-m-chuti*, Horus or Ra of the two horizons.

[5] Bar, a war god of foreign origin, allied to Set in form and properties, supposed to be the same as Baal.

LINE

7 the stable of RAMSES MIAMON, within the van. The King drew himself up, he pierced the line
8 of the foe, the vile Cheta: he was all alone, no other with him. When he advanced to survey
9 behind him, he found there encircled him 2500 chariots stopping his way out. Every champion
10 of the vile Cheta and abundant lands with him of Airatu, of Maasu, of Patasu, of Kashkash,

## PAGE 2.

1 of Iriuna, of Katuatana, of Chirabu,[1] of Akarita, Katesh, Leka, they were 3 men on a car; they made
2 (a charge); there was no Chief with me, no Marshal, no Captain of the archers, no Officers; fled were my troops and horse.
3 I was left alone of them to fight the foe. Then said king RAMSES, "What art thou, my father AMMON? what father denies his son?
4 for have I done aught without thee? have I not stept or staid looking to thee, not transgressing the decisions of thy mouth, nor passing
5 far astray beyond thy counsels? Sovran Lord of Egypt, who makest bow down the peoples that withstand thee; what are these Amu[2] to thy heart? AMMON brings
6 low them who know not God. Have I not made thee monuments very many? filled thy temple with my spoils? built thee
7 houses for millions of years, given treasures to thy

[1] Chirabu, satisfactorily identified by M. Chabas with Aleppo. Identifications have been attempted for several other places or tribes named in this record, but they cannot be regarded as certain.

[2] *Amu* seems to be a name applied by Egyptians to Asiatics in general. In page 5, 8, a various reading is found "these impure."

LINE

house? dedicated to thee all lands, enriched thy sacrifices? I have slain

8 to thee 30000 bulls, with all wood of sweet scent, good incense coming from my hand. The making of thy court completed, I have built thee great towers

9 of stone above thy gate, groves everlasting: I brought thee obelisks from Elephantine; 'tis I who had eternal stones carried

10 guiding for thee galleys on the sea, conveying to thee labours of all lands. When was it said such happened in other time?

## PAGE 3.

1 Shame on who opposes thy counsels, well to who approves thee AMMON; what thou hast done is from a heart of love; I call on thee my father AMMON;

2 I am amid multitudes unknown, nations gathered against me: I am alone, no other with me; my foot and horse have left me.

3 I called aloud to them, none of them heard; I cried to them. I find AMMON worth more than millions of soldiers, 100000 cavalry,

4 10000 brothers, striplings, were they gathered all in one. No works of many men avail, AMMON against them: I attain that by the counsels of thy mouth O RA,

5 not overstepping thy counsels. Lo, have I not done homage to the farthest ends of the land? My cry rang unto Hermonthis: RA heard when I called, he put

6 his hand to me: I was glad; he called to me behind; '. . . . . RAMSES MIAMON I am with thee, I thy father RA: my hand

7 is with thee. I am worth to thee 100000 joined in

LINE

one; I am Sovran lord of victory, loving valour: if I find courage, my heart overflows with joy;

8 all my doing is fulfilled." I am as MENTU, I shoot to the right, I seize on my left, like BAR[1] in his fury against them:

9 I find 2500 chariots, I am amidst them, then were they overthrown before my steeds; not one of them found

10 his hand to fight, their heart shrank within them; their hands all dropt, they knew not how to shoot;

## PAGE 4.

1 they found no heart to grasp spear; I made them fall into the water as fall crocodiles: they tumbled headlong

2 one over another; I slew them: my pleasure was that none of them should look behind him, nor any return; whoever falls of them

3 he must not raise himself up. Then the vile Chief of Cheta stood amid his army to see the prowess of King RAMSES. The King was all alone,

4 no soldiers with him, no horse; he turned in dread of the King. Then he made his mighty men go

5 in numbers, each one of them with cars, they brought all war-harness, the Chief of Airatu, the Chief of Masu,

6 the Chief of Iriuna, the Leka, the Chief of Tantani, the Kashkash, the Chief of Kairkamash, the Chirabu,

7 the allies of Cheta all banded in one, 2500 chariots. Charging the midst of them fiercer than flame I rushed

8 upon them; I was as MENTU; I let my hand taste them in a moment's space, I hew at them to slay them in their seats; each

[1] Bar, a war god of foreign origin, allied to Set in form and properties, supposed to be the same with Baal.

LINE

9 one of them called to his fellow, saying, "No mortal born is he whoso is among us, SET the mighty of strength,

10 BAR in bodily form: verily whoever comes close to him, his hand droops through all his frame, they know not how to grasp

11 bow nor spear when they have seen him." Coming to the junction of roads, the king pursued them as a griffin.

## PAGE 5.

1 I was slaying them, none escaped me: I gave a call to my foot and horse, saying, "Be firm, be firm in heart,

2 my foot and horse; behold my victory." I was alone, TUM (AMMON) my support, his hand with me. Now when

3 MENNA my Squire saw me thus encircled by many chariots, he cowered, his heart quailed,

4 great terror entered his limbs, he said to the King, "My gracious Lord, Prince revered, valiant exceedingly, protector

5 of Egypt in day of battle, verily we stand alone amid the foe, how make a stand to save breath to our mouth?

6 how rescue us, King RAMSES, my gracious Lord?" The King said to his Squire "Courage, courage,

7 my Squire, I will pierce them as a hawk; I will slay and hew them, cast them to the dust. What

8 forsooth to thy heart are these Amu? AMMON brings very low them who know not God, who brightens not his face on millions of them." King RAMSES

9 dashed into the van, then he pierced the foe, the caitiff Cheta, six times, one and all, he pierced them. I was

LINE

10 as BAR in his season, prevailing over them I slew them none escaped. Then the King called to his archers

11 and cavalry, likewise to his Chiefs who failed to fight. "Naught profits full heart[1] in you. Is there

## PAGE 6.

1 one of them who did his duty in my land? Had I not stood as Royal Master ye were downstricken. I make Princes of you always. I set

2 son in his father's estate; if any evil comes on Egypt ye quit your service . . . . . .

3 Whoever comes to make petitions I always pay regard to his claims. Never any Royal Master did for his soldiers what King RAMSES

4 has done for you, I let you sit in your houses and your towns; ye have not performed my hests, my archers and cavalry.

5 I have given them a road to their cities; . . . . . .

6 Lo, ye have played cowards all together, not one of you stood to aid me while I had to fight. Blessed be AMMON TUM,

7 Lo I am over Egypt as my father RA; there was not one of them to observe my commands

8 in the land of Egypt. O noble feat! for consecrating images in Thebes, AMMON'S city: great shame on that act

9 of my foot and horse, greater than to tell, for lo, I achieve my victories:

10 there was no soldier with me, no horseman; every land beholds the path of my victories and might.

[1] "Full heart" means I suppose, "devotion to me."

## Page 7.

LINE

I was all alone, no other with me, no Chiefs behind, no Marshals, no Captains of the army, no Officers,
all peoples saw and will tell my name to limits of all lands unknown. If any warriors, relics of my hand, remain,
they will turn at seeing me: if 10000 of them come upon me their feet will not stand firm, they will fly; whoever would
shoot straight at me, down dropt their arrows, even as they approached me." Now when
my foot and horse saw, I was addressed as MENTU, the strong sword of RA, my father, who
was with me in time of need, he made all peoples as straw before my horses. They were marching one after another
to the camp at eventide; they found all the tribes through whom I pierced strewn in carnage, whelmed
amid their blood, with all brave fighters of Chetaland, with children and brothers of
their Chief. Morning lighted the field of Katesh; no space was found to tread on for their multitude.
Then my soldiers came glorifying our names to see what was done, my cavalry likewise,

## Page 8.

extolling my prowess. "What a goodly deed of valour! firm in heart, thou hast saved thy army, thy cavalry, son of TUM,
framed by his arms, spoiling Chetaland by thy victorious sword, royal conqueror, none is like thee. King fighting for his host on day of battle,

LINE

3 thou great of heart, first in the fray, thou reckest not for all peoples banded together, thou great conqueror before thy army, in the face of the whole land.

4 No gainsaying. Thou guardest Egypt, chastisest lands of thy foes, bruisest back of Cheta for ever." Then the King

5 addressed his foot and horse, likewise his Chiefs who failed to fight: "Not well done of one of you, your leaving me alone

6 amid the foe: there came no Chiefs, Officer or Captain of host to aid me. I fought repelling millions of tribes

7 all alone. 'Victory in THEBES' and Nehrahruta (my horses) they are all I found to succour me. I was all alone in the midst

8 of foes. I will let them eat corn before RA daily, when I am in my royal palace: these are they found in the midst

9 of the foe, and my Marshal MENNA my Squire, with the officers of my household who were near me, the witnesses

10 of conflict who saw them fall before the King; with victorious strength he felled 100000 all at once by his sword of might."

## PAGE 9.

1 At dawn he joined in fray of battle; he went terrible to fight, as a bull terrible with pointed horns he rose

2 against them as MENTU ordering the fray, alike valiant in entering battle, fighting fierce as a hawk,

3 overthrowing them as SECHET[1] who sends flames of fire

[1] Sechet, a goddess "loved of Ptah" often mentioned in connexion with fire, inflicting terrific vengeance on evildoers.

LINE

in the face of thy foes; as RA in his rising at the front of dawn, shooting

4 flames upon the wicked: one man among them calls to his fellow, "Mark, take heed, verily SECHET the mighty is with him; she guides his horses: her hand

5 is with him." Whoever approaches sinks to ruin: she sends fire to burn their limbs, they were brought to kiss the dust.

6 King RAMSES prevailed over them, he slew them, they escaped not, they were overthrown under his steeds,

7 they were strewn huddled in their gore. Then the vile Cheta Prince sent to do homage

8 to the great name of King RAMSES. "Thou art RA HARMACHIS, thou art SET mighty of strength, son of NUT, BAR

9 himself: thy terror is over Chetaland brought low: thou had broken back of Cheta for ever and ever."

10 Then came a herald bearing a scroll in his hand to the great name of RAMSES, "To soothe the heart of the King,

## PAGE 10.

1 HORUS, conquering Bull, dear to MA,[1] Prince guarding thy army, valiant with the sword, bulwark of his troops in

2 day of battle, King mighty of strength, great Sovran, Sun powerful in truth, approved of RA, mighty in victories,

3 RAMSES MIAMON: The servant speaks to tell the King, My gracious Lord, fair son of RA HARMACHIS,

[1] Ma, goddess of truth and justice. The royal title of Ramses the Great is *Ra-user-ma Setep-en-Ra Mi amon Ramessu*, "Sun strong in truth, approved of the Sun, loved of Ammon, Sunborn."

LINE

truly thou art born of AMMON, issue of his body, he gives thee all lands together, land of Egypt and land of Cheta, they offer

their service beneath thy feet to thee, RA, prevailing over them. Yea thy spirit is mighty,

thy strength weighs heavy on Chetaland; is it good to kill thy servants? thou exercisest thy might

upon them; art thou not softened? thou camest yesterday and slewest 100000 of them; thou art come to day

. . . . . victorious King, Spirit glad in battle, grant us breath of life."

Then the King rose in life and strength, as MENTU in in his season. Then he bad summon all the leaders of foot and horse,

his army all assembled in one place to let them hear the message sent by the great Chief of Cheta—

## PAGE 11.

to King RAMSES. They answered, saying to the King, "'Tis very good to let fall thy wrath, Prince, Sovran Lord,

. . . . . who can soothe thee in thy day of anger?" Then King RAMSES gave assent to

their words: he gave his hand in peace, returning to the south, passing in peace to Egypt with his Chiefs,

his foot and horse, in life and strength, in sight of all lands. Dread of his might is in every heart, he protects his army,

all nations come to the great name, falling down and adoring his noble countenance. King RAMSES reached fort Ramses Miamon

great image of RA HARMACHIS reposing in the royal

LINE

palace in Thebes, as the Sun's orb on his two-fold throne; AMMON (or the gods)

7 hailed his form, saying, "Glory to thee, Son loved of us, RAMSES MIAMON (to whom are destined)

8 festivities for ever on the throne of thy father TUM. All lands are overthrown under his feet: he has quelled (all enemies)"

9 Written in the year 7, month Payni, in reign of King RAMSES MIAMON

10 Giver of life for ever like his father RA ..... To the Head Guardian of the royal writings ..... by the Royal Scribe PENTAUR.

THE

# INSCRIPTION OF PIANCHI MER-AMON,

## KING OF EGYPT.

XXIInd DYNASTY.

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TRANSLATED BY F. C. COOK, M.A.,

PREACHER AT LINCOLN'S INN, CANON OF EXETER.

THE inscription of Pianchi Mer-Amon was discovered at Gebel Barkal, the ancient Napata, in the year 1863, and after a short interval its general purport was made known to scholars, first by a brief account of M. Mariette, *Revue Archéologique* 1863, then by a more detailed notice in the *Revue Archéologique*, 8vo Paris 1865 p. 94 and foll. by M. le Vicomte de Rougé, and lately by a series of articles in the same review by M. F. Lenormant 1871-2-3. An account of it was also given by M Läuth, *Sitzungsberichte d. königk. bayer. Akademie d. Wissenschaften.* 8vo. München 1869 p. 13 and foll.

A very considerable number of passages are also quoted and explained by M. Brugsch in his *Hieroglyph-demotisches Worterbuch* fo. Leipzig 1867-8.

The text itself however was not published before the latter part of the year 1872. But it is now

accessible to Egyptian scholars and it forms part of a work in course of publication. Mariette, *Monuments divers*, etc., etc. Paris 1872.

In 1869 I obtained a copy of a work, in which M. Mariette had printed this and several other documents of high importance under the title of *Fouilles d'Abydos* fo. 1869. That work was withdrawn before publication, but the copy which I had previously received is now in my possession, and it has enabled me to complete the translation which I now submit to the public.

It has been examined by two eminent Egyptologists, Mr. C. W. Goodwin, and Dr. S. Birch, who have collated it with great care and permit me to say that it gives a correct view of the contents of the inscription.

The inscription is surmounted by a picture in which the king Pianchi Mer-Amon is represented standing before Amen-Ra Lord of the throne of the world seated on his throne behind which is the goddess Mut standing. The Prince Nimrod holding a sistrum in one hand and his horse by the bridle advances to the monarch. He is preceded by his wife; there are three other princes prostrate kissing the ground. They are Osorkko, Wuapat, and Pefaabast. Behind the throne of Amen five others, Sheshank, Tad-amon-anchef, . . . teta, Patenf, and Pa-mu are represented in the same attitude.

# INSCRIPTION OF PIANCHI MER-AMON.

LINE

1 In the twenty-first year, in the month Thoth,[1] in the reign of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Pianchi Mer-amon, the ever-living, a proclamation of His Majesty. "Hear what I have done beyond my ancestors! I am the King, the divine form, the living image of Tum, proceeding from his body, a sword,[2] as King before
2 whom the Chieftains tremble, the illustrious offspring of his mother, he became a King from his birth,[3] a good Deity, loved by the gods, son of Ra, vigorous in action,[4] Mer-amon Pianchi."

A messenger came to His Majesty saying:

"The Commander in the West, the great Chieftain in Pe-neter,[5] Tafnecht, in the nome—and Athribites,
3 in Hap,[6] in An,[7] in Penub,[8] and in Memphis, he hath taken possession of the West in its entire extent from

[1] The year dates, as usual in Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions, from the accession of the king.

[2] A sword, sc. instrument of divine wrath; cf. Ps. xvii. 13.

[3] His birth, literally "from the egg" a common Egyptian idiom.

[4] Lit. "doing with his arms" the same phrase occurs l. 15.

[5] *Pe-neter*, or *Mer-neter*, "the divine city or divine Mer" is frequently named in the monuments; see Brugsch, "G. I.," p. 289, who identifies it with Μένουθης, according to Stephanus Byz. κώμη πρὸς τῷ Κανώβῳ. It was a considerable place under the Pharaohs. A city of this name is found in the 18th Nome, *i.e.* the Bubastite, see Duemichen *Rec.* iii. *Pl.* lxii. The expressions indicate the extent of Tafnecht's government in Lower Egypt, from Sais to Bubastis, and southwards to Memphis.

[6] Hap—the Egyptian name of the Nile—here denotes a city, the southern Hap, the *uu* of the 4th Nome, see Duemichen *Rec.* iii. 62. G.

[7] An, a town in the Nome "Libya," the 3rd, to the extreme west: it was probably so named from a spring עין "ain."

[8] *Pe-nub*, *i.e.* "City of Gold," χρυσόπολις, now called by the Arabs Badnub, not far from Sais.

Pehuu to Ti-tata,[1] sailing up the stream, with multitudes of warriors from the whole land following him, Chiefs and Governors of cities like hounds at his feet; no fortress is closed to him. He has occupied the nomes of the
4 south, Mertum, Pe-ra-sechem-cheper, Ha-sebek,[2] Pe-matet[3] (Oxyrynchus), Tokaneshu. Every city of the West has opened its gates for fear of him. He returned then to the nomes of the East, they opened to him likewise; Ha-bennu, Taiutit, Sutenha, Pe-neb-apuka,[4] from .... were subdued as far as Sutensenen;[5] he
5 has made them dependent on his orders: he allows none to go out, or to enter in, carrying on war continually; he has cut them off on all sides, every Chief in his fort; allowing them all to remain within their own
6 districts, as Chieftains or Governors. Behold (thus) in pride of heart he indulges ambitious projects."[6]

Then the Chiefs, the Governors, and the Commanders of the troops, which remained (*faithful*) in their cities sent messages to His Majesty without cessation, saying: "Art thou then silent and forgetful (even) of the southern land, and the nomes of central Egypt? TAFNECHT takes all before him, he meets none who can withstand his
7 arm. NIMROD, Prince of Ha-ment, has overthrown his

[1] Mr. Goodwin supplies this note: "Pehuu was the name of the *pehu* (frontier town) of the 20th Nome (south) *i.e.* Heracleopolites. Ti-tata was the name of the last fortress towards the North at which Pianchi arrived before reaching Memphis, see line 83. It may have been considered as the boundary between the North and South lands."

[2] Ha-Sebek, *i.e.* Crocodilopolis, where Sebek the Divine Crocodile was worshipped; site uncertain; B. "*G. I.*" p. 283.

[3] The three cities Ha-bennu, Taiuti, and Ha-suten, were on the east bank, opposite to Oxyrynchus.

[4] *Paneb-apu-ka*, "house of the lord of chieftains," "the bull," was a city in the 22nd nome.

[5] Sutensenen is now identified by Egyptologers with Heracleopolis.

[6] The construction is very doubtful; Birch suggests "in pride teaching his heart to be exalted," or, as the Hebrew idiom has it, "enlarged."

forts, the walled city of Neferus: he has himself destroyed his own city, in fear that it should be taken from him, and that he should be shut up in another city. Remark that (even he) is gone to be his follower: he hath re-
8 nounced allegiance to His Majesty: he stands with him as one of . . . He (TAFNECHT) has granted to him the nome of (Aphroditopolis)[1] as a reward, that he might give his heart to everything he (TAFNECHT) might find for him to do."

So His Majesty sent word to the Princes and Generals who were over the realm of Egypt, the Captain[2] POARMA, and the Captain LAMERSEKENI, and all the Captains of His Majesty who were over Egypt: "Go forth, destroying,
9 prepare war, go round (the whole land) capturing its men, its cattle, its ships on the river, not permitting the labouring men to go out to the fields, nor permitting the ploughers to plough, blockading all that belongs to the nome of Un,[3] warring against it continually."

Behold they acted accordingly.

Behold His Majesty sent (fresh) troops to Egypt, giving
10 them great reinforcements. (. . . .)[4] "night: let there be no delay in arming your troops, when you see that he has marshalled his army for an expedition. If, saith he, the infantry and cavalry are gone away to another city, why sit ye (idle) until his soldiers come, (and so) fight (just)
11 when he tells you? If he should go with his forces to another city, well, let them be driven back, the Chiefs, those whom he has brought to support him, Tehennu

[1] To the north of Heracleopolis, the 19th Nome of Upper Egypt; see Brugsch, Geogr. I. taf. xxvii.

[2] The orderer, or Marshal.

[3] Un, or Hermopolis was the metropolis of the Hermopolite Nome.

[4] A lacuna of about four letters.

troops on whom he relies.[1] Grant they are marshalled for war, as by a hero, say, we are not to be driven back."

He (PIANCHI) called out as he reviewed his troops,
12 "Harness the mighty war-horse, the best of the stud; ah, let there be destruction in battle. Thou knowest what AMON the great god hath commanded us: when you enter the city of Thebes, (on the bank) over against Apet,[2] enter with lustrations, purify yourselves in the river: array yourselves in your best garments; draw out[3]
13 your bows, prepare your arrows in front of the Chief as a conquering Lord; there is no victory over men without his knowing it. He hath done glorious deeds with his mighty arm; and many shall turn their backs on a few,—and one shall rout a thousand. Sprinkle your-
14 selves with the (holy) water of his altars: prostrate yourselves before his face: say to him, 'Grant us the path of war under the shadow of thy scimitar, let the youths whom thou hast appointed overthrow with their blows myriads.'"

Behold they all threw themselves prostrate before His Majesty. "Doth not thy name give to us victory? Doth not thy command sustain thy soldiers? Thy food is in
15 our bellies in every expedition: thy beer quencheth our thirst; will not thy might give us the victory? Terrible is the mention of thy name. The troops (of the enemy) shall not hear their Captains, the men of the mercenaries shall be as women, as though thou wert thyself present. Thou art the mighty King, achieving (victory) by thine arms, Master of the arts of war!"

[1] On the Tehennu, foreign legionaries, see M. Chabas, *Etudes sur l'Antiquité historique* p. 181. They were the Libyans.

[2] Apet near Luxor, was the name of a principal quarter of Thebes, from which some derive the name Thebæ

[3] I understand this clause to mean that the troops should present their arms before the God at Thebes, thus consecrating them for the war.

16 Then they set forth sailing down the river, and approached Thebes: they did according to all which the King had commanded. They then went on sailing down to Atur:[1] they found many ships advancing up the
17 stream, with soldiers, mariners, Captains and the might of the north of Egypt, with every kind of instruments of war, to war against the soldiers of His Majesty.

So a great defeat was made of them; the number of soldiers and vessels captured was beyond calculation; they were brought as prisoners to His Majesty's residence.

They then went on sailing down the river to Sutensenen,[2] to prepare for fighting, (and) to send information to the Chiefs and Princes of the north.

18 Lo! the Prince NIMROD, with the Prince WUAPAT, and the Commander of the mercenaries. SHESHONK of Pe-osiris-neb-tattu: with the great Chief of the mercenaries TAT-AMENAUFANCH, of Pe-ba-neb-tattu,[3] with his son SEMES, who was a Chief of the troops at Pe-thoth-Aprehuhu, the soldiers of the Prince BEK-EN-NEFI,[4] with his
19 son and heir Chief of mercenaries, NASNA-SECHEMI of the nome of Kahebs;[5] every Chief of plume-bearing rank who was in the north of Egypt: with the Prince OSORKON who was in Pe-Bast,[6] and the frontier city of Ra-nefer;[7] every Chief, every Governor on the West and the East, and the central districts, all with one accord were followers of the great Chieftain of the West, the

[1] The mer of the eighth Nome.

[2] Heracleopolis.

[3] *Pe-ba-neb-tattu*—lit. "Temple of the Ram Lord of Tattu," *i.e.* Mendes. Pe-Osiris (Gr. Βούσιρις) was the sacred name. This was the chief city in the ninth Nome.

[4] *Bak-en-nefi*, "Servant of breath," resembles Bak-en-ranf, *i.e.* Bocchoris.

[5] The eleventh Nome.

[6] Bubastis.

[7] Ra-nefer, Ra the Good.

Prince of the cities of the North, the Prophet of Neit Lady of Sais, the High Priest of Ptah, TAFNECHT.

20 They then went forth against them: so they made a great overthrow of them, greater than any previous one, capturing their vessels at Atur. The remainder of the *enemies'* troops fled and sailed down (and landed) westward over against Pe-Pak.[1]

21 On the dawn of the second day the soldiers of His Majesty sailed on after them; *then as* warriors rushing on archers,[2] lo they slew multitudes of their soldiers, horses innumerable were smitten. The remainder fled on foot northward in utter defeat, wretched above all things. The count of the slaughter made of them was so many men (a blank space which contained of course the number of the slain).

22 King NIMROD[3] was sailing up the river southwards, when it was said to him, Sesennu[4] is harassed by the enemy. The troops of His Sacred Majesty had captured his people and his cattle.

Then he entered into the port of Un.[5] The troops of His Majesty were on the Nile, over against the shores
23 (of the Hermopolitan district). So when they heard of it they blockaded Hermopolis on all quarters. No one was permitted to go out or to come in.

Then they sent to inform His Majesty the King MER-AMON PIANCHI, Life-giver, concerning all the overthrow they had inflicted with all the forces of the King.

[1] *Pak*, the word means "byssus," or flax.

[2] This seems to imply that Pianchi's troops were heavy-armed infantry (ὁπλῖται), whereas the foreign legionaries were chiefly archers.

[3] Nimrod, a Prince of the race of the Sesonchs and Osorkons, held Hermopolis as a sovereign; he is called Suten.

[4] No city is named more frequently in inscriptions: the 15th Nome was called Un, the city Sesennu, or Pe-sennu, *i.e.* the eighth. Hermopolis.

[5] Hermopolis.

24 Behold His Majesty was furious at that account like a leopard. "What," said he, "shall it be allowed to them that any remnant shall be left of the troops of the North? What, shall any one of them be allowed to go forth to give an account of his outgoing? Shall they not be given up to slaughter and utter destruction? I swear—so may RA love me, so may my father AMON
25 be gracious to me,—I will sail down the Nile myself: I will destroy the forts which he has built: I will force him to retreat by fighting, even an eternal rout. If after the performing the ceremony of the festival of the beginning of the year I make oblation to my father AMON in his excellent panegyry, *when* he makes his excellent manifestation at that festival, and I go forth in peace to see AMON in his excellent panegyry of the festival of Apet, and I glorify him in his image in the south of Apet,
26 in his excellent panegyry of the panegyry of Apet, on the night at the panegyry of Menta, in the city of Thebes, the festival which he appointed for RA in the first day, and I conduct him in procession to his temple resting on his throne, on the day that the god is brought in on the second day of the month Athor—then will I make all the land of Egypt taste my finger;"

27 Behold all the troops which were dispersed over Egypt heard that the wrath of His Majesty was kindled against them.

Behold they attacked (Aphroditopolis,) and Pe-ma-tet. They took it like a storm of rain.

Then they sent an account of this to His Majesty, but his heart was not appeased by it.

28 Then they attacked the stronghold Tatehn, called Oernechtu; they found it full of soldiers, of all mighty men of the land of the North; behold a battering machine was made and brought against it: it battered down its

wall. A great slaughter was made of them, an unknown amount, with a son[1] of the great Chief of the mercenaries TAFNECHT.

Behold they sent an account of this to His Majesty, his heart was not appeased by it.

29 Behold they attacked Ha-bennu, and forced an entrance for the soldiers of His Majesty: they sent word to His Majesty, but his heart was not appeased by it.

So on the 9th day of the month Thoth His Majesty set forth and sailed down to Thebes, where he concluded the festival of AMON with a panegyry at Apet.

30 Then he advanced down the stream to the district of Hermopolis.

His Majesty came forth from the state cabin of his ship. The steeds were harnessed: he was raised high on his war-car: the terror of His Majesty reached the Asiatics,[2] every heart was filled with his terror: Lo His Majesty went forth giving free course to his indignation against his troops: he raged against them as a leopard.

31 "What, have they made a stand? You have fought them without spirit! My message went out a year ago. Will you not complete the pursuit, spreading fear of me over the north of Egypt? Inflict upon them a defeat a terrible overthrow by smiting."

32 (Then) he took up for himself quarters on the south-west of Un,[3] and blockaded it without cessation, making palisades to invest (lit. clothe) the walls, raising works to mount the archers, that they might shoot arrows and balistæ to hurl stones at it: (thus) slaying men among them continually.

[1] It is not clear whether the son of Tafnecht was captured or slain. If captured only Bocchoris in person may be intended.

[2] *I.e.* at once extended even beyond the frontier of Egypt, alluding possibly to the Assyrians connected with Nimrod's family.

[3] Hermopolis.

(And so) it took place in three days, and in Un[1] there was a stench; their nostrils were without pleasant smells.

33 Lo Un[1] now threw itself down prostrate in supplication before the face of the sovereign. Their heralds came forth in procession bearing all splendid gifts, gold, all precious stones, and embroidered vestments. Upon (the King's) head was the Uræus impressing them with terror of him.

Not many days passed after this act of homage to the Lord of all Egypt,[2] (when) behold he (NIMROD) sent out

34 his wife, a Queen by marriage and birth, NESTENNEST, to do homage to the King's Wives, and Concubines, and Daughters and Sisters, to prostrate herself in the harem before the King's Wives, saying, "I am come, O Queens and Princesses, do you reconcile the divine King,[3] Lord of the palace, whose spirit[4] is mighty and whose justice is great. Grant—"

35 [The next tablet from line 35 to 51 is entirely effaced,[5] from 51 to 56 partially mutilated.]

53 (The Chiefs) of the South are humbled, those of the North (cry out) "Grant to us to be under thy shadow." With his oblations.

55 Not a Chief see.

Thy provinces of the North and South are as children. Behold he threw himself prostrate before the King,—(saying)

56 "HORUS, Lord of the Palace, by thy spirit it has been done to me. I am one of the King's slaves, bound to

[1] Hermopolis.

[2] Lit. to his double crown, the Peshent denoting the sovereign acknowledged as the legitimate head of all Egypt.

[3] The Divine King, lit. "Horus Lord of the Palace." The Pharaoh is frequently styled Horus in inscriptions of the ancient empire.

[4] Spirit, the personality of Kings, "full of the Spirits," is thus designated.

[5] The effaced lines contained of course an account of Nimrod's acts of submission and homage.

make offerings for the treasury; the tributes which I now
57 make to thee in addition to those (already presented)." He offered silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise and crystal,[1] every kind of precious stone in abundance. Lo the treasury was filled by their offerings.

58 He led his horse, (bearing) in his right hand a vase, in his left a sistrum of gold and lapis lazuli.

59 Then behold (PIANCHI) made a solemn procession from his palace, and went forth to the temple of THOTH, Lord of Sesennu; he sacrificed oxen, cows, geese, to Father THOTH, Lord of Sesennu, and to the eight gods[2] in their temples.

60 Then were the soldiers of Un[3] in rejoicing and shouting; they said, "O the goodness of HORUS, resting peacefully in his city, Son of the Sun,

61 PIANCHI; thou makest for us a festival as thou rulest over Un."[4]

62 Then the King went forth to the house of the Prince NIMROD; he went to every apartment of the royal palace, his treasuries, his storehouses, that he might have peace-offerings brought to him.

63 Then came the Queens and Princesses to adore the King after the manner of women,[5] but His Majesty did not turn his countenance upon them.

64 The King (then) went forth to visit the stud of broodmares, and the stables of the young steeds, he saw that

[1] *Mafek* and *tahen*; Chabas shows good reason for the identification of the former with some kinds of turquoise, or malachite, and of the latter with crystal or "quartz hyalin."

[2] Thoth with eight Deities made up a Paout, or group of nine. Other Deities mentioned in connexion with Hermopolis are Tum, Sa, or As, and Nehemawait, a form of Isis, identified by Plutarch with Δικαιοσύνη.

[3] Southern Hermopolis.

[4] The Nome of Hermopolis.

[5] Lit. with "things of women;" which I take to mean after the wont of women.

they had famished them. Then said he, "By my life,
65 so may RA love me, I loathe the youth, wretched creatures[1] are they to my heart, who have starved my steeds (this is) more than any abomination thou (NIMROD) hast done altogether."
66 My remonstrance reached every heart, "terror is over all thy people!"[2] "What! didst thou not know that the
67 shadow of the Deity was over me? Did he ever fail me? Had any other done this to me whom I knew not I should
68 not have been so indignant with him about it. I am
69 born of the loins, created from the egg, of the Deity, the divine procreation is in me. All hail to him, I have not acted without his knowing: *he* ordained that I should act."

Behold he appointed his offerings for the treasury and
70 granaries and as oblations to AMON-IN-APET.

Then came the Prince of Sutensenen,[3] PEFAABAST,
71 with tributes to Pharaoh, gold, silver, and all precious stones, with steeds the choicest of his stud. He threw himself prostrate before His Majesty, and said,
72 "Hail to thee HORUS, Royal Bull, smiting cows! Hades
73 has seized me. I am immersed in darkness! Give me light over it. I have not found a friend in the evil time standing by me in the day of battle, save thee only, O
74 King. Do thou lift the darkness from me. I am thy slave together with my subjects in Sutensenen, attached
75 to thy royal apartments; thou glorious image of HORMACHIS, ruling over the indestructible constellations!

[1] "In evil plight," or perhaps "as evil livers." The construction, however, is obscure.

[2] This would seem to express the feelings of those who heard Pianchi's remonstrance.

[3] Heracleopolis, now Ahnes, about 90 miles to the north of Hermopolis. The two princes Nimrod and Pefaabast belonged to the same family, and their dominions were probably contiguous.

76 While he exists thou existest, as he is indestructible thou
77 art indestructible, O King of all Egypt, PIANCHI, living for evermore."

Then His Majesty sailed down to Aptmer and Marhunt. He found the city of the temple of RA-SECHEM-CHEPER with its walls repaired and its fortress closed, full
78 of the best soldiers of the North.

So His Majesty sent an embassy to them, saying, "Living ye are dead men, (unless you surrender) you will be captured or slain. If the time pass by, and there be no opening, ye shall be numbered among those slain under the blows of the King when he forces the gates. You live (only) to be collected for execution on
79 this day, owing to your loving death and hating life, (a punishment which will be inflicted) in the face of the whole country."

So they sent an embassy to His Majesty, saying, "Lo the Divine shadow is over thy head, O son of NUT! He gives you his arms! The utterance of thy heart is (fulfilled) forthwith as that which proceeds from the mouth of the Deity. For he hath procreated thee a Deity to see us obedient on our beholding thy arms. Behold thy city, its fortresses (taken), none enter, none go out: His Majesty doth what he will."

80 So they came forth with the son[1] of the chief Commander of the mercenaries TAFNECHT.

Then the troops of His Majesty entered into it (the city). He did not slay a single man of all whom he
81 found. (He went up) together with his officers to the citadel, and ordered an exact account (to be taken) of its magazines and its granaries, for oblations to his father AMON-RA, Lord of the thrones of Egypt.

Then His Majesty went on sailing down the Nile. He

[1] This appears to be another son of the chieftain; see line 28.

found Mertum, PE-SOKARI, the Lord of light, closed. He did not approach it so as to allow any fighting within it;
82 they were however alarmed with great terror; and they closed their gate.

Then His Majesty sent to them, saying, "Two ways are before you; choose as you will; open, and live; shut up, and die! His Majesty does not pass by any closed fort." Lo they opened forthwith.

83 Then His Majesty entered into his city, that he might offer to MENHI who dwells in light. He took account of the treasury and granaries for oblations to AMON in Apet.

(Then His Majesty sailed down to Ti-tata. He found the gate closed and the walls full of the strongest soldiery of the North. Behold they opened their citadels,
84 throwing themselves prostrate (before) His Majesty, saying, "Thy Father hath sent thee: thou art his heir, who art Lord over both realms: thou art the ally of the gods; thou art Lord over the land."

Then the King went forth to make great offerings to the gods of this city, of bulls, cows, geese, and all things good and pure. He then took account of the treasury and the granaries for oblations. (After this he dispatched an embassy) to Heliopolis.

85 Then he sent to them, saying: "Let there be no closing (and) there shall be no fighting within the city of SHU. The first time that I enter he enters; going forth, (as) he goeth forth, my outgoings are not to be arrested. When I have made oblations to PTAH, god of the gods who are in Memphis: and have made offerings to SOCARI in the sanctuary: and have seen his southern temple:
86 then I will sail down in peace to Memphis.[1] No weeping of children shall be seen. Not a single person shall be

[1] The narrative here is obscured by the mutilation of the inscription.

slain in it; save only the great rebels against the god:[1] the vile and worthless only shall be executed."

They however closed their fort, and sent their soldiers to escape from the troops of His Majesty, (disguised) as workmen, builders, mariners, to the port of Memphis.

87 Lo the Lord of Sais (TAFNECHT) came to Memphis at nightfall with an armament of his soldiers, and mariners, all the best of his troops, 8000 men, with their complete equipment.

88 Thus Memphis was full of soldiers, all the chief of the North, with barley, wheat, all corn of granaries in abundance,[2] every kind of implement (of war. They proceeded to fortify Memphis) with a great bulwark made by skilful artizans, and a moat round the Eastern quarter. No point of attack was found therein. The stalls were full of milch-cows: the treasury was supplied with all good things, silver, gold, iron, copper, vestments, frankincense, honey.

I went,[3] I gave gifts to the Chieftains of the North: they opened their districts; I was as a . . . . . the day at my coming.

89 He (TAFNECHT) took his seat on horseback; he did not call for his chariot.

Then he sailed down in fear of His Majesty on the dawn of the next morning.

Then PIANCHI drew near to Memphis; he came in his barge to the north side of the city; he found water enough to let him come close to the walls: his vessels put in at Memphis.

[1] Pianchi identifies himself with HORUS, the tutelary Deity of the Pharaoh, who is his representative.

[2] "In abundance."

[3] "I went," etc. This appears to be the address of Tafnecht, but it comes in very abruptly. The lost paragraph must have described the approach of the king and the effect upon Tafnecht.

90 Behold His Majesty saw Memphis strengthening the lofty walls with new works; bulwarks fitted up with great strength. There was no way found to assault it.

Every man then among the soldiers of the King spoke out proposing all devices of war: every man was saying, "Let us now blockade[1] the city; make war, multiply devices; erect a scaffolding against it; let us raise earthworks to the level of its walls: let us fasten wood-works;
91 let us set up masts, and use sailyards for ladders against it. We will distribute to every quarter of the city the ladders in this way as scaling ladders. Let us extend them to fill it (the moat) and to raise the soil to a level
92 with its walls; we will find a way for our feet."

Then His Majesty raged against the city as a leopard; he said, "As I live, so may RA love me, so may father AMON be gracious to me: I invented these devices against it by the command of AMON!

That which my people have said . . ."

93 They opened to him a way to which AMON did not let their attention be directed;[2] they knew it not, what he commanded he accomplished; giving his whole energy that his terror might be seen. "I shall take the city like a storm of rain." So we ordained.

94 Then behold he gave out orders that his vessels and his soldiers should attack the port of Memphis. They brought him every boat, vessel, yacht and barge,[3] as many as there were; and they cast anchor in the haven of Memphis, beginning to put in near its houses:

[1] The construction is not clear, but the meaning seems to be that when the king's soldiers saw these preparations they clamoured for an immediate attack.

[2] The connection of these sentences is obscured by the lacuna. Pianchi seems to refer to former victories obtained by stratagems inspired by AMON.

[3] Or "the front row (of the vessels) putting in close to the houses of the port:" see line 95.

95 The people of this part of the city were distressed, and wept at all these assaults of the King.[1]

His Majesty then went on board the royal ship himself, with all the vessels of the fleet: he then commanded his troops; "Advance against the city; surround the wall; enter the houses by the river. If any of you enter the wall no one will stand before him; no one will resist
96 my officers. Vile is the citizen; we have blockaded the southern quarter; we have moored our ships on the north; we have sat down in the central point of the two lands."

Behold Memphis was captured as by a storm of rain: multitudes were slaughtered in it, or were brought as captives to the head-quarters of His Majesty, together with——

Then on the second day His Majesty appointed men to
97 go and protect the temples of the Deity; to stretch forth the arm to protect the sanctuary of the gods, to offer libations to the chief Deities of Ptah-ha-ka, and to purify Memphis with natron and frankincense; restoring the Priests to their places.

His Sacred Majesty then went forth to the temple of the god, and performed lustrations in the chamber of purification,[2] accomplishing all rites that are done by the
98 Sovereign. He entered the temple making great sacrifices to father PTAH of the Southern Wall, with bulls, cows, geese, and all good things.

Then the King went to his Palace. Behold, the districts heard of this; all that pertain to the domains of Memphis, Heriptemi, Peninafuaa, the fort Nebiu, the district of

[1] The meaning is doubtful.

[2] The purification of the temples after the massacre was needed, but was especially characteristic of the dynasty to which Pianchi belonged. The same act is recorded of Tirhakah.

99 Bii, all opened their forts, and fled on foot, unknown was the place they fled to.

Then came WUAPAT, with the Captains and mercenaries MERKANESHU, and the Prince PETISIS, with all the
100 Leaders of the North of Egypt with their tributes, to behold His Majesty's excellency.[1]

PIANCHI then inspected the treasures and granaries of Memphis, and made offerings to AMON, PTAH, and the circle of gods of PTAH-HA-KA.

On the next morning His Majesty went to the East
101 and offered libations to TUM in Kher ;[2] and to the cycle of gods in the temple of the cycle of gods in which is the shrine of the gods abiding therein ; with bullocks cows, and geese ; (that) they might grant life, health and might to the Sovereign of all Egypt, PIANCHI, the Immortal.

Then His Majesty went to Un over this hill of Kher, on the road of Sap[3] to Kher.

Then the King went to the royal head-quarters[4] on the west of the lake of Horus, and offered his oblations.
102 Then he purified himself in the heart of the cool lake, washing his face in the stream of the heavenly waters in which RA laves his face.

Then he proceeded to the sandy height[5] in Heliopolis, making a great sacrifice on that sandy height of Heliopolis before the face of RA at his rising, with milch-

[1] Equivalent to the Hebrew.

[2] Kher, a sacred city often named in the Ritual. Its site is here shown to be near Memphis, on the way to Heliopolis.

[3] Sap, an unknown god, tutelar of Oxyrynchites, the 18th Nome.

[4] The word *Am* indicates a residence with garden or park, a paradisus, a word which is referred by Gesenius and other scholars to the Sanskrit, in which it could not exist with that meaning. The lake, or port of Horus was probably the "fountain of the sun," close to Heliopolis; this graceful description implies a peculiar sanctity attaching to the spot. The expression "heart of the lake," corresponds to the Hebrew, Exod. xv. 8.

[5] Or sandy-hill; De Rougé renders it "les sables élevés dans Héliopolis."

103 cows, milk, odorous gums,[1] frankincense, and all precious woods, delightful for scent.

He went in procession to the temple of RA, the great sanctuary with solemn adoration. Then the Chief Priest[2] offered supplications to ward off calamity from the King, performing the rite of lustration girded with the (sacred) vestments. He then purified him with incense, and sprinkling, and brought to him garlands from the
104 temple of Obelisks.[3] When the garlands were brought to him, he ascended the flight of steps to the great shrine to behold RA in the Temple of Obelisks.

The King himself stood, the great one alone, he drew the bolt, he opened the folding doors, he saw his father RA in the Temple of Obelisks, (and) the bark of RA, and the vessel[4] of TUM.

105 Then he closed the doors, and set sealing-clay with the King's own signet, and enjoined the priests, (saying) "I have set my seal, let no other King whatever enter therein."[5]

Then he stood while they prostrated themselves before His Majesty, saying,

"All hail for ever, indestructible HORUS,[6] lover of Heliopolis! Thou who comest as one entering into the
106 temple TUM, ministering to the image of father TUM, CHEPERA great god of Heliopolis."

[1] "*Anti*." Chabas observes that this scent, a precious gum from Arabia, was so highly esteemed as to be the main object of commerce between Egypt and Arabia.

[2] The *Cher-hel*, probably, as De Rougé explains the word, "chief of the Odists," or conductor of the sacred rites.

[3] This probably designates the great temple of Heliopolis. One of the obelisks which then stood before the Porch still exists; it is the most beautiful in Egypt, and belongs to the time of Osirtasin of the 12th dynasty.

[4] The sacred boat appropriated to each deity had a distinct name.

[5] This was of course directed against the Princes of the line of Bubastis and others, over whom Pianchi claimed, and for a time exercised, supremacy.

[6] *I.e.* "divine King," visible representative of Horus.

Then came the King OSORKON[1] to behold the King's excellency.

On the next morning the King went forth to the haven, and on board his vessels, and proceeded to the haven of Kakem.[2]

107 There head-quarters were pitched for the King to the south of Kaheni, on the east of Kakem.

Then came the Princes and Chieftains of the North, all the Commanders, all fan-bearers, all Governors and all royal kinsmen from the West, from the East, and from the central districts, to behold the King's excellency.

108 Then too came the Prince PETISIS to prostrate himself before His Majesty, and said,

"Come to Kakem, behold CHENT-CHATTI![3] worship CHUIT! Offer sacrifices to HORUS in his temple with bullocks, cows, geese! enter into my palace; open to thee is my treasury, taking possession of the heritage of my father. I offer thee gold to thy heart's content,[4] and crys-

109 tal the image of thy own person,[5] mighty steeds also the choice of the stud, and the chief things of my storehouse."

So the King went forth to the temple of HORUS CHENT CHATTI, to offer bullocks, cows, geese to his father HORUS CHENT CHATTI, Lord of Kem-Oer.

The King then proceeded to the palace of the Prince PETISIS, who made offerings to him of silver, gold, lapis

110 lazuli, turquoise, a vast heap of all valuables, royal vestments in all abundance, couches covered with byssus, odorous gums, unguent in vases, steeds both

[1] Osorkon of Bubastis, see line 114, is entitled King, and is not here said to render homage. He was evidently recognized a legitimate, though not independent sovereign.

[2] The "black bull," or Bull of Egypt, the 10th Nome in Lower Egypt.

[3] A designation of Horus, dweller in Chatti, a place not known.

[4] The expression is very forcible, "to the limits of thy heart," *i.e.* to thy heart's content, far as thy wishes can extend.

[5] This may mean the image of Horus, see the next line and line 185.

stallions and brood mares, all the best of his stud. Then
111 (PETISIS) cleared himself by an oath in the presence of the great Princes of the North. "Any one here who has concealed his steeds or hidden his valuables, well! Let him die, let his father die! I call on those of you who govern my household here, do ye not know every thing that I possess? Well! Say ye that I have hid aught from His Majesty of all the goods of my father's
112 house, gold, silver, with precious stones, with goblets,[1] with bracelets to adorn the arms, gold to adorn the neck, and jewelled collars; they were fitted with precious stones, an amulet for every limb, diadems for the head, earrings for the ears, every decoration of a king, every vessel of royal lustration, in gold, and jewels,
113 all these in abundance. I have consecrated before (thee) royal stuffs, vestments by thousands, with every best possession in my palace; I know thou wilt be satisfied therewith. Go to the storehouses, choose what thou likest, of all the steeds whichever thou mayest prefer."

Behold His Majesty did thus.

Then said the chief Princes to His Majesty; "We will
114 give orders to our cities; we will open our treasuries; we will choose what may be pleasing to thy heart; we will bring to thee all the best things in our storehouses, the best of our steeds."

Behold, His Majesty did thus.

A list of their names.

The King OSORKKO in Bubastis, and the district of Ranofer, the King WUAPAT in Tent-remu, and
115 Taan; the Chief TAD-AMON-ANCHEF in Pe-ba-neb-tattu,[2] and the pyramid-temple of RA; SEMSEM Commander

[1] *Apet*, a cup of some precious metal, possibly steel, which was known and used, but very rare.

[2] Lit. the Ram (*i.e.* Osiris) Lord of Tattu, or Dadd, probably Mendes.

of the troops in Pi-thoth-ap-rehuhu, ANCHHOR, the Chief Merka-nesh in Neter-teb, in Pe-hebi, and Sam-hut; the Commander of the mercenaries PA-TENF, in Pa-sept-hor,[1]
116 and in the temple-pyramid of Memphis; the chief Commander of the mercenaries PA-MU[2] in Pe-osiris-neb-tattu; the chief Commander of the troops MERSENAKI in the nome of Kahesbu; the Commander of mercenaries of Necht-hor-na-shentou in Pe-kalel; the Commander of mercenaries PEN-TAUR, the Commander of mercenaries PENT-BECHEN, Prophet of HORUS, Lord of Sechem;
117 PAT-HOR-SAM-TATUI;[3] the Chief HUR-BASA in Pe-Sechet, Lady of Sais, and PE-SECHET Lady of Hassui; the Chief ZADKHIAU[4] in Chent-nofer; the Chief PA-BAS in Cher, and Pehap,[5] bringing their offerings, all good things.

[Four lines 118 to 123 are more or less defaced: they contained an enumeration of the offerings and addresses of the Chieftains, and apparently an account of the revolt of the sailors belonging to PETISIS. The following groups are legible;

118 gold, silver, turquoise, rolls of byssus, fragrant gums.
119 in vases.....throughout of valuable horses...this
120 It was come and told His Majesty the troops were .....the enceinte
122 ...he set fire to the treasury and boats in the river).
123 —Then the King sent his troops to see what had been done by the sailors of the Prince PETISIS; and they re-
125 turned announcing to His Majesty, saying, We have slain all the men we found there.

[1] De Rougé, "Pa-supti." The figure is explained by Brugsch, Geogr. I. p. 32. The deity was represented as a hawk, with two upright feathers on its head, and by a pyramid. The pyramid is pronounced Sopt, or Sopd, and the god is called Supt in an inscription on a colossal hawk at Berlin of the time of Amenophis III. He is identified with Horus of the East.

[2] *Pa-mu i.e.* "the lion."

[3] *I.e.* "devoted to Horus the uniter of both lands."

[4] A Semitic name, *i.e.* Zedekiah.

[5] *I.e.* Nilopolis, perhaps the city called Hap.

126 Then the King gave it[1] as a recompense to Prince PETISIS.

And then, behold, on hearing this the Commander
127 of the mercenaries TAFNECHT directed ambassadors to go to the royal head-quarters as suppliants, saying,

"Hail to thee![2] I could not look on thy face in those
128 days of shame; I could not stand against thy fire; I am overcome by thy terror. Lo! thou art the divine NUBTI
129 (SUTECH), the occupant of the South, and Mentu, the mighty Bull accomplishing every thing to which thou directest thy countenance. Thou hast not found thy
130 servant there, for I have reached the islands of the Mediterranean. I am in terror at thy presence, at the
131 word of fire uttered overpoweringly against me. Will not the heart of Thy Majesty be appeased by these
132 things which thou hast done to me? I indeed am under a righteous infliction; but let me not be smitten beyond the measure of the crime![3] As though measuring with a scale, and calculating with weights thou multipliest[4] to me threefold. Corn is brought as
133 an offering to thee; it is in its season:[5] do not destroy the tree together with its fruit. All hail to thee! Thy terror is in my body; thy fright is in
134 my teeth! I sit not in the house of beer; the harp is not brought to me; lo, I eat the bread of hunger and
135 drink in thirst. For since the day thou heardest my name terror is in my bones, my head is untrimmed,

[1] The captured hold of the mariners.

[2] Hotep-rek, cf. Abrek in Genesis, and essay in Vol. I of the Commentary on the Bible, p. 482.

[3] Birch renders this clause, "I am in real affliction." The general sense is tolerably clear, but the construction is very difficult.

[4] Sc. "my punishments."

[5] The meaning seems to be: "All the produce of the land belongs to thee, but do not destroy it utterly; let the trees stand," which the Egyptians generally destroyed in their campaigns. It is not improbable, however, that Tafnecht is alluding to himself and his family.

136 my garments are squalid: that NEITH might be recon-
ciled to me.[1] Thou hast caused me a long flight. Thy
137 countenance is upon me (?) My being is separated
(from its sin); thy servant is cleansed from his pride.
I beseech thee, take my goods into thy treasury, the
138 gold and all precious stones. Lo, the steeds, chests
with all precious things. O grant that a messenger
139 may come to me as a reconciler: let him remove terror
from my heart; let me go to the temple in his presence;
let me purify myself by an oath."

140 So his Majesty sent the Chief ODIST POTI-AMON-NESA-
TATUI, and the Commander of the troops, POARMA. He
141 (TAFNECHT) presented them with silver, gold, vestments
and all precious things; and then he went to the temple,
142 and adored the Deity, and purified himself with an oath,
saying:

143 "I will not disobey the royal ordinance, I will not
oppose the words of His Majesty, I will not sin against
my Chief; thou (O Deity) knowest not any deed of
144 mine against the words of the King, I will not transgress
what he ordaineth."

145 Behold His Majesty was appeased by that.

Then one came to say to His Majesty: The Temple
of Anubis[2] has opened its fortress, and MATENNU renders
146 homage: there is not a nome closed to His Majesty
of all the nomes of the South, the North, the West or
147 the East; the domains in the centre of Egypt are pro-
strate at his terror, and are about to renew their offerings
at the royal residence, as subjects of the Palace.

148 On the next morning[3] came the two Sovereigns of the

[1] Tafnecht was high-priest of Neith. The object of the fasting, etc., was to regain the favour of the goddess. I do not understand the next clause.

[2] *I.e.* the city so-called. *Pa-Anebu*; the exact site is unknown, but it was evidently a fortress not captured before the advance of Pianchi.

[3] The four kings were Nimrod and Pefaabast from the South, Osorkon and Wuapat from the North.

South and two Sovereigns of the North, with their diadems, to adore the might of His Majesty, and then
149 together with the Kings all the Chieftains of the North came to behold the King's excellency.
150 Their legs (trembled) as the legs of women. They did not enter into the Palace because they were unclean on account of their eating fish, a thing forbidden[1]
151 for the royal Palace: (but) behold the Prince-royal NIMROD was allowed to enter the Palace because he
152 was clean, he had not eaten fish. They remained standing not entering the Palace.
153 Lo! then the vessels were laden with silver, gold, bronze, vestments, all the precious things of the North,
154 all precious offerings of Khar,[2] all rich products of Taneter.[3]

Then His Majesty set sail up the stream: his heart was enlarged!

155 All were rejoicing: the West and East prepared them-
156 selves to rejoice before the King. They shouted, they rejoiced, they said, "Thou conquering King, PIANCHI,
157 thou conquering King, thou art come! Thou hast captured the North! Thou hast turned bulls into women!
158 Joyful is the mother who bears a male child begotten of thee! The dwellers in the highlands offer adorations to her as the mother of the hero.[4] Thou art for ever! Thy might is durable O King, lover of Thebes!"

[1] The consumption of fish was forbidden to the priests, a fact often noticed in the Ritual. Pianchi and Nimrod were both of a priestly family, the latter evidently bore high priestly rank, as is indicated in the genealogies. Salted fish was however used commonly, as in the schools of the scribes. The prohibition appears to have applied to sea-fish as Typhonic.

[2] Syria.

[3] Araby the divine.

[4] Or bull. The mother of Tirhakah calls him "Prince born of the (divine) cow." By the Divine Cow the Queen means herself, as wife of Amon.

# EXTRACT

FROM THE

# TABLET OF NEWER-HOTEP.

TRANSLATED BY

PAUL PIERRET.

CONTAINING

*The Egyptian account of a scene of investiture with the Chain of honour.*[1]

IN the year III of His Holiness, King HORUS,[2]
behold, His Holiness appeared like unto the Sun,
in his palace *of the placid-life*,[3]
after having there consecrated loaves to his father AMMON,
as he left the *Chamber of gold* [3] cries of joy
and acclamations circulated all over the world
and their clamour reached even to Heaven.
The DIVINE FATHER OF AMMON,[4] NEWER-HOTEP,
was called to receive recompenses
coming from the King of millions of years,
and which consisted of all sorts of things,
in silver, gold, perfumed garments, bread, beverages,
meat, cakes, in virtue of this order of my Lord AMMON:
" Let them give my favours before witnesses to the *Kher-heb*.[5]
REPOSE-OF-THE-HEART-OF-AMMON, NEWER-HOTEP "
who says (replies): " Numerous are the things

[1] Com. Genesis xli, 41, 42. This text has been published by J. Dümichen *Hist. Inscrip.* ii, 40 e, and partly by H. Brugsch, *Monum*, pl. 37.

[2] King of the XVIIIth dynasty. [3] Epithet names of the Royal Palace.

[4] Sacerdotal title. [5] *Idem*.

which the god, who is the King of gods,
giveth to him who knoweth him,
he doth recompense him who serveth him
and he protecteth him who doth follow him, (him)
of whom the Sun is the body,
and whom the solar-disk doth for ever accompany."

Underneath this legend Newer-hotep is represented receiving the chain of gold, which is, however, not mentioned in the text. This leads me to believe that the representation of the investiture of the Chain has not always the precise meaning attributed to it, but had oftentimes no other object than to picture to the eye the totality of the favours by which exceptional services were rewarded.[1]

[1] The xlii pl. of Dümichen, *Hist. Insc.* (2nd part) also represents an investiture of the Chain which is not mentioned in the text which accompanies it.

# TRAVELS OF AN EGYPTIAN,

IN

## SYRIA, PHENICIA, PALESTINE, ETC.

IN THE XIVth CENTURY B.C.

FROM A PAPYRUS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY

MM. CHABAS AND GOODWIN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY S. M. DRACH.

THE *Travels of an Egyptian* has first been translated into English by M. C. W. Goodwin, *Cambridge Essays*, 1858, p. 267–269, from an hieratic papyrus in the British Museum, published in facsimile by the Trustees, Fo. 1842, pl. 35–61. In 1866, M. F. Chabas, availing himself of the collaboration of M. Goodwin, published a full translation of the same in French, *Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie, en Phenicie*, etc., 4to, 1866, including a copy of the hieratic text with a double transcription into hieroglyphic and Coptic types, and a perpetual commentary. Objections

were made by M. H. Brugsch, *Revue Critique*, Paris, 1868, *Aout et Septembre*. But M. Chabas strongly vindicated his views in an additional work, *Voyage d'un Égyptien—Réponse à la Critique*, Chalons, 1868, 4to., since which the matter seems to be settled among Egyptologists. The debate was however unimportant in regard to geographical information as it bore merely on the point to ascertain whether the narrative refers to an actual journey really effected by the Egyptian officer named a Mohar, or a model narrative of a supposed voyage drawn from a previous relation of a similar trip extant at the time.

# TRAVELS OF AN EGYPTIAN.

## Section 1.

PAGE LINE

18 . 3 Thy letter which is full of lacunæ is loaded with pretentious expressions: such is the retribution of those who wish to understand it, it is a charge

18 . 4 which thou hast charged at thy will. "I am a scribe, a Mohar," hast thou repeated: let us respect thy word and set off.

18 . 5 Thou hast put horses to the chariots; thy horses are as swift as jackals: their eyes flash: they are like a hurricane bursting; thou takest

18 . 6 the reins, seizest the bow: we contemplate the deeds of thy hand. I send thee back the Mohar's portrait: and make thee know

18 . 7 his actions. Didst thou not then go to the country of the Kheta? Hast thou not seen the land of Aup? Knowest thou not Khatuma, Ika-

18 . 8 tai, likewise? how is it? The Tsor of Sesortris, the city of Khaleb on its vicinity?—

19 . 1 How goes it with its ford? Hast thou not made an expedition to Qodesh and Tubakkhi? Hast thou not gone to the Shasous?

19 . 2 with the auxiliary body? Hast thou not trampled the road of Pamakar the sky[1] was dark on the day when

19 . 3 there flourished the cypresses, the oaks and cedars, which reached up to heaven: there are many lions, wolves and hyænas

[1] The papyrus is much worn here. The name of the place is perhaps "Pamakar of the sky."

PAGE LINE

19 . 4 which the Shasous track on all sides. Didst thou not ascend the mountain of Shaoua? Hast thou not travelled, thy arms

19 . 5 placed on the back of thy car separated from its harness by the horses drawing it?

19 . 6 Oh! come to . . . . barta. Thou hastenest to get there: thou cross-

19 . 7 est its ford. Thou seest a Mohar's trials. Thy car

19 . 8 is placed in thy hand: thy strength fails. Thou arrivest at the night: all thy limbs

19 . 9 are knocked up: thy bones are broken, thou fallest asleep from excess of somnolence: thou wakest up—

20 . 1 'Tis the hour when sad night begins: thou art absolutely alone. Comes there not a thief to rob the

20 . 2 things left aside: he enters the stable: the horses are agitated: the thief goes back in the night

20 . 3 carrying away thy clothes. Thy servant awakes in the night; he perceives the thief's actions: he takes away the rest,

20 . 4 he goes among the bad ones; and joins the tribes of the Shasous: and transforms himself to an Asiatic.

20 . 5 The enemy comes to plunder, he finds only the wreck: Thou wakest, dost thou not find them

20 . 6 in their flight? They take thy baggage. Thou becomest an active and quick-eared Mohar?

## Section 2.

20 . 7 I also describe to thee the holy city, whose name is Kapaon (Gabal). How is it? Of their goddess (we will speak) another time. Therein

20 . 8 hast thou not penetrated? Come then to Berytus, to Sidon, to Sarepta. The ford

PAGE LINE

21 . 1 of Nazana, where is it? Aoutou, how is it? They are neighbours of another city on the sea. Tyre the
21 . 2 port is its name: water is carried to it in barks, it is richer in fish than in sands.

## Section 3.

21 . 3 I will speak to thee also of two other small chapters. The entrance of Djaraou, and the order thou hast given to set this city in flames. A Mohar's office is a very painful one.
21 . 4 Come, set off to return to Pakaïkna. Where is the road of Aksaph?
21 . 5 In the environs of the city; come then to the mountain of Ousor: its top,
21 . 6 how is it? Where is the mountain of Ikama? Who can master it? What way has the Mohar
21 . 7 gone to Hazor? How about its ford? let me go to Hamath,
21 . 8 to Takar, to Takar-Aar, the all-assembling place of the Mohars; come
22 . 1 then, on the road that leads there. Make me to see Jah. How has one got to Matamim?
22 . 2 Do not repel us by thy teachings; make us to know them.

## Section 4.

22 . 3 I will speak to thee of the towns other than the preceding ones. Wentest thou not to the land of Takhis, to Cofer-Marlon, to Tamena,
22 . 4 to Qodesh, to Dapour, to Adjai, and to Harnemata? Hast thou not seen Keriath-Anab, near to
22 . 5 Beith-Tuphar? Knowest thou not Odulam and Tsidphoth? Knowest thou not the name of

PAGE LINE

22 . 6 Khaouretsa, which is in the land of Aup? 'Tis a bull on his frontier, the place where one sees the battle (mêlée)

22 . 7 of the brave ones. Come then to the image of SINA: let me know RO-

22 . 8 HOB: represent to me BEITH-SHEAL as well as KERIATHAAL. The fords of the

23 . 1 Jordan, how does one cross them? let me know the passage to enter Mageddo, whereof it remains to speak. Thou art a Mohar,

23 . 2 expert in courageous deeds. Is there found a Mohar like thee to march at the head of the soldiers, a Marina

23 . 3 superior to thee to shoot an arrow! Take care of the gulf in the ravine two thousand cubits deep; full of rocks and rolling stones.

23 . 4 Thou makest a *détour:* seizest thy bow; preparest the iron in thy left hand; showest thyself to the good chiefs.

23 . 5 Their eye looks down at thy hand: Slave, give camel for the Mohar to eat. Thou makest thy name of Mohar known,

23 . 6 Master of the Captains of Egypt; thy name becomes like that of KADJARTI, the Chief of Assur, after his encounter with

23 . 7 the hyenas in the wood, on the defile infected by the wood-hidden Shasous.

23 . 8 Some of these were four cubits from the nose to the heel: fierce without mildness, not listening to caresses.

23 . 9 Thou art alone, no guide with thee, nor troop behind thee. Didst thou not meet the Marmar? He makes thee

24 . 1 pass: thou must decide on departing, and knowest not the road. Anxiety seizes thee, thy hair bristles up:

PAGE LINE

24 . 2 thy soul places itself in thy hand : thy way is full of rocks and rolling stones, no practicable passage ; the road is obstructed by

24 . 3 hollies, nopals,[1] aloes and bushes called "*dog-wolf's shoes.*" On one side is the precipice, on the other rises the vertical wall of the mountain.

24 . 4 Thou must advance going down. Thy car strikes the wall and thy horses are startled by the rebound :

24 . 5 they stop at the bottom of the harness; thy reins are precipitated and left behind ; all fall down, thou passest on.

24 . 6 The horses break the pole and move it out of the path ; you cannot think of refastening them, cannot re-

24 . 7 pair them. The seats are precipitated from their places ; the horses refuse to be loaded with them. Thy heart fails thee. Thou beginnest to

24 . 8 reel ; the sky is clear : thirst torments thee : the enemy is behind thee, thou beginnest to quake ;

25 . 1 a thorny bush hinders thee ; thou placest it aside ; the horses wound themselves.

25 . 2 At this moment thou art stretched flat and beholdest the sad satisfaction (of thy state) ? Entering Joppa

25 . 3 thou seest a verdant inclosure in a ripe state. Thou makest an opening for eating the fruit. Thou findest a pretty

25 . 4 young girl who takes care of the gardens : she yields herself to thee as a companion ; and yields to thee her secret charms

25 . 5 Thou art perceived : thou art subjected to an interrogatory ; thou art recognised as a Mohar. Thy tie of

[1] Indian fig.

PAGE LINE

25 . 6 sweet servitude, is settled by a compromise. Each night thou liest down; a rug of hair

25 . 7 is on thee: thou imprudently fallest asleep, a robber takes away thy bow, thy dagger,

25 . 8 and thy quiver: thy reins are cut in the night, and thy horses run away. Thy valet takes a sliding path: the road mounts before him, he breaks

26 . 1 thy car in pieces . . . . thy armour-pieces fall on the ground.

26 . 2 They sink in the sand. Thou must have recourse to prayers, and thou gettest puzzled in thy address. Give me victuals and water, and I

26 . 3 shall reach my safety. They pretend to be deaf, they do not listen: they do not consent. Thou orderest:

26 . 4 "Pass to the forge! Pass through the workshops! Workmen in wood and metals, and workmen in leather come before thee: they do

26 . 5 all thou wishest. They repair thy car, leaving aside all unserviceable pieces: they nail on again

26 . 6 a new pole: they replace the fittings: they replace the leathers of the harness, and at the back

26 . 7 they consolidate thy yoke: they replace the metallic ornaments: they incrust the marquetry:

26 . 8 they put on the handle of thy whip and arrange the thongs. Thou leavest very hastily

26 . 9 to fight at the perilous post; to perform valiant deeds.—

## Section V.

27 . 1 Mapou, O chosen scribe! Mohar, who knows his hand, Conductor of the Arunas, Chief of Tsebaou

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Explorer of the most distant limits of the land of Pa . . . . thou dost not

27 . 2 answer me any how : thou givest me no account ; come let me tell all that happened to thee at the end of thy road. I begin

27 . 3 for thee at the dwelling of SESTSOU (RAMSES) : hast thou not forced thy way therein. Hast thou not eaten fishes of . . . . ?

27 . 4 Hast thou not bathed therein ? O come, let us describe Atsion to thee : where is its fortress ?

27 . 5 Come to the house of OUATI ; to Sestsou-em-paif-nakhtou-ousormara ; to Sats . . . aal,[1]

27 . 6 also to Aksakaba ? I have pictured to you Aïnini. Knowest thou not its customs ? Nekhai,

27 . 7 and Rehobroth, hast thou not seen them since thy birth, O eminent Mohar ? Raphia,

27 . 8 how about its entrenchment ? It covers the space of an *aour* going towards Gaza.

27 . 9 Answer quickly, and speak to me of what I have said of a Mohar concerning thee. I have thunderstruck

28 . 1 the strangers at thy name of Marina : I have told them of thy fierce humour, according to which word thou saidst "I am fit for all works ; I have been taught by my father, who had verified his judgment millions of times. I

28 . 2 can hold the reins, and also am skilful in action. Courage never forsakes my limbs, I am of the race MENTOU."

All that issues from thy tongue is very thwarting : thy phrases

[1] *Sestsou-em-païf-nakhtou Ousormara* is the name of a fortress built by Ramses II, in Syria or Palestina and different from Ouati. The name means : "Ramses II in his victories."

PAGE LINE

28 . 3 are very puzzling: thou comest to me enveloped in difficulties, charged with recrimination. Thou cuttest off the discourse of those who come in thy presence; thou dost not disgust thyself with fumbling, and

28 . 4 with a stern face sayest, "Hasten ye: and desist not! How to do not to be able to succeed in it, and how to do to succeed in it?"[1] No! I stop not, for I arrive, let thy preoccupation get calmed:

28 . 5 tranquillize thy heart: prepare not privations for him who offerest himself to eat. I have mutilated the end of thy book, and I send it to thee back, as thou didst request; thy orders accumulate on my tongue, they rest on my lips:

28 . 6 but they are difficult to understand; an unskilful man could not distinguish them; they are like the words of a man of Athou with a man of Abou. Yet thou art a scribe of PHARAOH; whose goodness reveals the essence of the universe.

28 . 7 Be gracious when seeing this work, and say not "Thou hast made my name repugnant to the rabble, to all men." See I have made for thee the portrait of the Mohar: I have travelled for thee through foreign provinces. I have collected

28 . 8 for thee nations and cities after their customs. Be gracious to us: behold them calmly: find words to speak of them when thou wilt be with the Prince OUAH.

[1] The order is quite contradictory. How can it be disobeyed, and how obeyed?

# THE LAMENTATIONS OF ISIS AND NEPHTHYS.

TRANSLATED BY

P. J. DE HORRACK.

THIS papyrus was found by the late Mr. Passalaqua, in the ruins of Thebes, in the interior of a statue representing Osiris. It is divided into two parts, very distinct. The first contains chapters of the funeral ritual in the hieroglyphic writing; the second, of which a translation here follows, consists of five pages of a fine hieratic writing of the lower epoch (probably about the time of the Ptolemies).

This manuscript now belongs to the Royal Museum of Berlin, where it is registered under the No. 1425.

A partial translation of it was published in 1852 by M. H. Brugsch, *Die Adonisklage und das Linoslied.* He

translated the second page and the beginning of the third, but without giving the hieratic text. I have since published and completely translated this interesting document, *Les Lamentations d'Isis et de Nephthys*, Paris, 1866, and now give the English translation revised.

The composition has a great analogy with the *Book of Respirations*, a translation of which will be added here. Both refer to the resurrection and renewed birth of Osiris (the type of man after his death) who, in this quality, is identified with the Sun, the diurnal renewal of which constantly recalled the idea of a birth eternally renewed. The object of the prayers recited by Isis and Nephthys is to effect the resurrection of their brother Osiris, and also that of the defunct to whom the papyrus is consecrated.

## TRANSLATION.

RECITAL of the beneficial formulæ
made by the two divine Sisters [1]
in the house of OSIRIS who resides in the West,
Great god, Lord of Abydos,
in the month of Choiak, the twenty-fifth day.
They are made the same in all the abodes of OSIRIS,
and in all his festivals;
and they are beneficial to his soul,
giving firmness to his body,
diffusing joy through his being,
giving breath to the nostrils, to the dryness of the throat;
they satisfy the heart of ISIS as well as (that) of NEPHTHYS;
they place HORUS on the throne of his father,
(and) give life, stability, tranquillity to OSIRIS-TENTRUT [2]
born of TAKHA-AA, who is surnamed PERSAIS, the justified.
It is profitable to recite them,
in conformity with the divine words.

EVOCATION BY ISIS.[3] She says:

Come to thine abode, come to thine abode!
God AN,[4] come to thine abode!

[1] Isis and Nephthys.

[2] The name of Osiris is invariably prefixed to that of the deceased, the latter being always assimilated to this god.

[3] The first two sections are *evocations* addressed to Osiris defunct, expressing the grief of his two sisters at the loss of their brother, and referring to the search made by them after him.

[4] One of the names of Osiris.

Thine enemies (exist) no more.
Oh excellent Sovereign, come to thine abode!
Look at me; I am thy sister who loveth thee.
Do not stay far from me, oh beautiful youth.
Come to thine abode *with haste, with haste.*
I see thee no more.
My heart is full of bitterness on account of thee.
Mine eyes seek thee;
I seek thee to behold thee.
will it be long ere I see thee?
Will it be long ere I see thee?
(Oh) excellent Sovereign,
will it be long ere I see thee?
Beholding thee is happiness;
Beholding thee is happiness.
(Oh) god AN, beholding thee is happiness.
Come to her who loveth thee.
Come to her who loveth thee.
(Oh) UN-NEFER,[1] the justified.
Come to thy sister, come to thy wife.
Come to thy sister, come to thy wife.
(Oh) URT-HET,[1] come to thy spouse.
I am thy sister by thy mother;
do not separate thyself from me.
Gods and men (turn) their faces towards thee,
weeping together for thee, whenever (they) behold me.
I call thee in (my) lamentations
(even) to the heights of Heaven,
and thou hearest not my voice.
I am thy sister who loveth thee on earth;
no one else hath loved thee more than I,
(thy) sister, (thy) sister.

[1] Surname of Osiris.

EVOCATION BY NEPHTHYS. She says:

Oh excellent Sovereign, come to thine abode.
Rejoice, all thine enemies are annihilated!
Thy two sisters are near to thee,
protecting thy funeral bed;
calling thee in weeping,
thou who art prostrate on thy funeral bed.
Thou seest (our) tender solicitude.
Speak to us, Supreme Ruler, our Lord.
Chase all the anguish which is in our hearts.
Thy companions, who are gods and men,
when they see thee, (exclaim):
Ours be thy visage, supreme Ruler, our Lord;
life for us is to behold thy countenance;
let not thy face be turned from us;
the joy of our hearts is to contemplate thee;
(Oh) Sovereign, our hearts are happy in seeing thee.
I am NEPHTHYS, thy sister who loveth thee.
Thine enemy is vanquished,
he no longer existeth!
I am with thee,
protecting thy members for ever and eternally.

INVOCATION BY ISIS.[1] She says:

Hail (oh) god AN!
Thou, in the firmament, shinest upon us each day.
We no longer cease to behold thy rays.
THOTH is a protection for thee.
He placeth thy soul in the barque Ma-at,
in that name which is thine, of GOD MOON.

[1] The following sections are *invocations* addressed to Osiris under the forms of the Moon and the Sun, expressing the joy of his two sisters at having thus perceived him.

I have come to contemplate thee.
Thy beauties are in the midst of the Sacred Eye,[1]
in that name which is thine, of LORD of the sixth day's festival.
Thy companions are near to thee;
they separate themselves no more from thee.
Thou hast taken possession of the Heavens,
by the grandeur of the terrors which thou inspirest,
in that name which is thine, of LORD of the fifteenth day's festival.
Thou dost illuminate us like RA[2] each day.
Thou shinest upon us like ATUM.[3]
Gods and men live because they behold thee.
Thou sheddest thy rays upon us.
Thou givest light to the Two Worlds.
The horizon is filled by thy passage.
Gods and men (turn) their faces towards thee;
nothing is injurious to them when thou shinest.
Thou dost navigate in the heights (of Heaven)
and thine enemy no longer exists!
I am thy protection each day.
Thou who comest to us as a child each month,
we do not cease to contemplate thee.
Thine emanation heightens the brilliancy
of the stars of Orion in the firmament,
by rising and setting each day.
I am the divine SOTHIS[4] behind him.
I do not separate myself from him.
The glorious emanation which proceedeth from thee
giveth life to gods and men,

[1] The Sacred-Eye here indicates the disc of the moon.
[2] The sun in all his power. [3] The setting sun.
[4] The star of Sirius where the soul of Isis dwelt.

reptiles and quadrupeds.
They live by it.
Thou comest to us from thy retreat at thy time,
to spread the water of thy soul,
to distribute the bread of thy being,
that the gods may live and men also.
Hail to the divine Lord!
There is no god like unto thee!
Heaven hath thy soul;
earth hath thy remains;
the lower heaven is in possession of thy mysteries.
Thy spouse is a protection for thee.
Thy son HORUS is the king of the worlds.

INVOCATION BY NEPHTHYS. She says:

Excellent Sovereign! come to thine abode!
UN-NEFER the justified, come to Tattu.
Oh fructifying Bull, come to Anap.
Beloved of the Adytum, come to Kha.
Come to Tattu, the place which thy soul prefers.
The spirits of thy fathers second thee.
Thy son, the youth HORUS, the child of (thy) two sisters,[1]
is before thee.
At the dawn of light, I am thy protection each day.
I never separate myself from thee.
Oh god AN, come to SAIS.
SAIS is thy name.
Come to APER; thou wilt see thy mother NEITH.[2]
Beautiful Child, do not stay far from her.

[1] Isis having with the aid of her sister Nephthys reunited the parts of Osiris' body dispersed by Set, formed of them the infant Horus.

[2] Neith personified the Lower Hemisphere, whence Osiris, the rising sun, appeared under the form of Horus.

Come to her nipples; abundance is in them.[1]
Excellent Brother, do not stay far from her.
Oh son, come to SAIS!
OSIRIS-TARUT, surnamed NAINAI, born of PERSAIS, the justified,
come to Aper, thy city.
Thine abode is Tab.
Thou reposest (there) by thy divine mother, for ever.
She protecteth thy members,
she disperseth thine enemies,
she is the protection of thy members for ever.
Oh excellent Sovereign! come to thine abode.
Lord of SAIS, come to SAIS.

INVOCATION BY ISIS.[2] She says:

Come to thine abode! come to thine abode.
Excellent Sovereign, come to thine abode.
Come (and) behold thy son HORUS
as supreme Ruler of gods and men.
He hath taken possession of the cities and the districts,
by the grandeur of the respect he inspires.
Heaven and earth are in awe of him,
the barbarians are in fear of him.
Thy companions, who are gods and men,
have become his, in the *two hemispheres*
to accomplish thy ceremonies.
Thy two sisters are near to thee,
offering libations to thy person;
thy son HORUS accomplisheth for thee the funeral offering:

[1] The sun nightly sinks into the bosom of his mother Neith, who personifies the Lower Hemisphere of heaven.

[2] Osiris again coming forth under the form of Horus-conqueror, (or the Rising Sun) becomes the Lord of the universe.

of bread, of beverages, of oxen and of geese.
TOTH chanteth thy festival-songs,
invoking thee by his beneficial formulæ.
The children of HORUS are the protection of thy members,
benefiting thy soul each day.
Thy son HORUS saluteth thy name
(in) thy mysterious abode,
in presenting thee the things consecrated to thy person.
The gods hold vases in their hands
to make libations to thy being.
Come to thy companions,
Supreme Ruler, our Lord!
Do not separate thyself from them.

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When this is recited,
the place (where one is)
is holy in the extreme.
Let it be seen or heard by no one,
excepting by the principal *Khcr-heb*[1] and the *Sam*.[2]
Two women, beautiful in their members,
having been introduced,
are made to sit down on the ground
at the principal door of the Great Hall.[3]
(Then) the names of ISIS and NEPHTHYS

[1] The high-priest, reader in the panegyrics.

[2] The high-priest presiding over funeral ceremonies and rituals.

[3] The Great Hall wherein the Judgment-scene was painted.

are inscribed on their shoulders.
Crystal vases (full) of water
are placed in their right hands;
loaves of bread made in Memphis
in their left hands.
Let them pay attention to the things done
at the third hour of the day,
and also at the eighth hour of the day.
Cease not to recite this book
at the hour of the ceremony!

It is finished.

# HYMN TO AMEN-RA.

TRANSLATED BY

C. W. GOODWIN, M.A.

THIS Hymn is inscribed upon an hieratic papyrus No. 17 in the collection of Papyri at the Museum of Boulaq. A facsimile of the papyrus has been published by M. Marriette, *Les papyrus Égyptiens du Museé de Boulaq*, fo. Paris 1272, pl. 11–13. It is not a very long composition, being contained in eleven pages of moderate size, and consisting of only twenty verses. It has the advantage of being nearly perfect from beginning to end, written in a legible hand, and free from any great difficulties for the translator.

From the handwriting of the papyrus it may be judged to belong to the XIXth dynasty, or about the fourteenth century B.C. It purports to be only a copy and the composition itself may be very much earlier.

In the original the beginning of each verse is indicated by rubricated letters, each verse is also divided into short phrases by small red points, these are indicated in the translation by colons.

This translation has just been published with exegetical notes in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. II. page 250.

## HYMN TO AMEN-RA.

1 Praise to Amen-Ra:
the Bull in An[1] Chief of all gods:
the good god beloved:
giving life to all animated things:
to all fair cattle:
Hail to thee Amen-Ra Lord of the thrones of the earth:
Chief in Aptu:[2]
the Bull of his mother in his field:
turning his feet towards the land of the South:
Lord of the heathen, Prince of Punt:[3]
the Ancient of heaven, the Oldest of the earth:
Lord of all existences, the Support of things, the Support of all things.

2 The ONE in his works, *single* among the gods:
the beautiful Bull of the cycle of gods:
Chief of all the gods:
Lord of truth, Father of the gods:
Maker of men, Creator of beasts:
Lord of existences, Creator of fruitful trees:
Maker of herbs, Feeder of cattle:
Good Being begotten of Ptah, beautiful youth beloved:
to whom the gods give honour:
Maker of things below and above, Enlightener of the earth:
sailing in heaven in tranquillity:

[1] An or On "the house of the Obelisk," or Heliopolis.
[2] Thebes. [3] Arabia.

King RA true speaker, Chief of the earth:
Most glorious one, Lord of terror:
Chief creator of the whole earth.

3 Supporter of affairs above every god:
in whose goodness the gods rejoice:
to whom adoration is paid in the great house:
crowned in the house of flame:
whose fragrance the gods love:
when he comes from Arabia:
Prince of the dew, traversing foreign lands:
benignly approaching the Holy Land.[1]

4 The gods attend his feet:
whilst they acknowledge His Majesty as their Lord:
Lord of terror most awful:
greatest of spirits, mighty in . . . . . :
bring offerings, make sacrifices:
salutation to thee, Maker of the gods:
Supporter of the heavens, Founder of the earth.

5 Awake in strength MIN[2] AMEN:
Lord of eternity, Maker everlasting:
Lord of adoration, Chief in . . . . . :
strong with beautiful horns:
Lord of the crown high plumed:
of the fair turban (wearing) the white crown:
the coronet[3] and the diadem[4] are the ornaments of his face:
he is invested with *Ami-ha:*
the double crown is his head-gear, (he wears) the red crown:
benignly he receives the Atef-crown:
on whose south and on whose north is love:

[1] Palestine or Arabia. [2] CHEM.
[3] Mahennu. [4] Uati.

the Lord of life receives the sceptre:
Lord *of the breastplate* armed with the whip.
6 Gracious ruler crowned with the white crown:
Lord of beams, Maker of light:
to whom the gods give praises:
who stretches forth his arms at his pleasure:
consuming his enemies with flame:
whose eye subdues the wicked:[1]
sending forth its dart to the roof of the firmament:
sending its *arrows* against NAKA to consume him.
7 Hail to thee RA Lord of truth:
whose shrine is hidden, Lord of the gods:
CHEPRA[2] in his boat:
at whose command the gods were made:
ATHOM Maker of men:
supporting their works, giving them life:
distinguishing the colour of one from another:
listening to the poor who is in distress:
gentle of heart when one cries unto him.
8 Deliverer of the timid man from the violent:
judging the poor, the poor and the oppressed:
Lord of wisdom whose precepts are wise:
at whose pleasure the Nile overflows:
Lord of mercy most loving:
at whose coming men live:
opener of every eye:
proceeding from the firmament:
causer of pleasure and light:
at whose goodness the gods rejoice:
their hearts revive when they see him.

[1] Frequent allusions are made in the papyri to the production of created things from the eyes of Ra or of Horus. Noxious things were supposed to be produced from the eye of Set or Typhon.

[2] The creator.

9 O! Ra adored in Aptu:[1]
high-crowned in the house of the obelisk:[2]
King (Ani) Lord of the New-moon festival:
to whom the sixth and seventh days are sacred:
Sovereign of life health and strength, Lord of all the gods:
who art visible in the midst of heaven:
ruler of men . . . . . :
whose name is hidden from his creatures:
in his name which is Amen.[3]

10 Hail to thee who art in tranquillity:
Lord of magnanimity strong in apparel:
Lord of the crown high plumed:
of the beautiful turban, of the tall white crown:
the gods love thy presence:
when the double crown is set upon thy head:
thy love pervades the earth:
thy beams *arise* . . . . . men are cheered by thy rising:
the beasts shrink from thy beams:
thy love is over the southern heaven:
thy heart is not (unmindful of) the northern heaven:
thy goodness . . . . . (all) hearts:
love subdues (all) hands:
thy creations are fair overcoming (all) the earth:
(all) hearts are softened at beholding thee.

11 The ONE maker of existences:
(creator) of . . . . . maker of beings:
from whose eyes mankind proceeded:
of whose mouth are the gods:
maker of grass for the cattle (oxen, goats, asses, pigs, sheep):
fruitful trees for men:
causing the fish to live in the river:

[1] Thebes. [2] Heliopolis.
[3] The name Amen means "secret," or "hidden."

the birds to fill the air :
giving breath to those in the egg :
feeding the bird that flies :
giving food to the bird that perches :
to the creeping thing and the flying thing equally :
providing food for the rats in their holes :
feeding the flying *things* in every tree.

12 Hail to thee for all these things :
the ONE alone with many hands :
lying awake while all men lie (asleep) :
to seek out the good of his creatures :
AMEN sustainer of all things :
ATHOM HORUS of the horizon :[1]
homage to thee in all their voices :
salutation to thee for thy mercy unto us :
protestations to thee who hast created us.

13 Hail to thee say all creatures :
salutation to thee from every land :
to the height of heaven, to the breadth of the earth :
to the depths of the sea :
the gods adore Thy Majesty :
the spirits thou hast created exalt (thee) :
rejoicing before the feet of their begetter :
they cry out welcome to thee :
father of the fathers of all the gods :
who raises the heavens who fixes the earth.

14 Maker of beings, Creator of existences :
Sovereign of life health and strength, Chief of the gods :
we worship thy spirit *who alone* hast made us :
we whom thou hast made (thank thee) that thou hast given us birth :
we give to thee praises on account of thy mercy to us.

[1] Harmachis.

15 Hail to thee Maker of all beings:
Lord of truth father of the gods:
Maker of men creator of beasts:
Lord of grains:
making food for the beast of the field:
AMEN the beautiful Bull:
beloved in Aptu:[1]
high crowned in the house of the obelisk:[2]
twice turbaned in An:
judge of combatants in the great hall:
Chief of the great cycle of the gods.

16 The ONE alone without peer:
Chief in Aptu:
King over his cycle of gods:
living in truth for ever:
(Lord) of the horizon, HORUS of the East:
he who hath created the soil (with) silver and gold:
the precious lapis lazuli at his pleasure:
spices and incense various for the peoples:
fresh odours for thy nostrils:
benignly come to the nations:
AMEN-RA Lord of the thrones of the earth:
Chief in Aptu:
the Sovereign *on his throne.*

17 King alone, *single* among the gods:
of many names, unknown is their number:
rising in the eastern horizon setting in the western horizon:
overthrowing his enemies:
dawning on (his) children daily and every day:
THOTH raises his eyes:
he delights himself with his blessings:

[1] Thebes. [2] Heliopolis.

the gods rejoice in his goodness who exalts those *who are lowly:*
Lord of the boat and the barge:
they conduct thee through the firmament in peace.
18 Thy servants rejoice:
beholding the overthrow of the wicked:
his limbs pierced with the *sword*
fire consumes him:
his soul and body are annihilated.
19 NAKA[1] saves *his feet:*
the gods rejoice:
the servants of the Sun are in peace:
An is joyful:
the enemies of ATHOM are overthrown and Aptu is in peace, An is joyful:
the giver of life is pleased:
at the overthrow of the enemies of her Lord:
the gods of Kher-sa make salutations:
they of the Adytum prostrate themselves.
20 They behold the mighty one in his strength:
the image of the gods of truth the Lord of Aptu:
in thy name of Doer of justice:
Lord of sacrifices, the Bull of offerings:
in thy name of AMEN the Bull of his mother:
maker of men:
causing all things which are to exist:
in thy name of ATHOM CHEPRA:[2]
the great Hawk making (each) body to rejoice:
benignly making (each) breast to rejoice:
type of creators high crowned:
. . (Lord) of the wing:
Uati[3] is on his forehead:

[1] The serpent. [2] Creator. [3] The diadem.

the hearts of men seek him:
when he appears to mortals:
he rejoices the earth with his goings forth:
Hail to thee AMEN-RA Lord of the thrones of the world:
beloved of his city when he shines forth.[1]

Finished well as it was found.[2]

[1] Many of the phrases in this beautiful Hymn are ambiguous even where the original text is perfect.

[2] This note is subscribed in the original papyrus.

# THE TALE
OF THE
# TWO BROTHERS.

TRANSLATED BY
P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

THE papyrus containing the document of which the following pages are a translation was purchased from Madame D'Orbiney in 1857 by the Trustees of the British Museum. It consists of nineteen pages of ten lines of hieratic writing together with an endorsement. A few portions of the text which had been obliterated have been meddled with by a person unacquainted with the language who has tried to restore them in modern ink. A very beautiful facsimile of the papyrus was published in 1860 in the *Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the British Museum.*

The attention of the public was first directed to this document by an article of the late M. Emile de Rougé in the *Revue Archéologique* (tom. ix. p. 385), in which that very eminent scholar gave a full description of the papyrus together with a complete analysis of its contents and a translation of a considerable portion of the text. The papyrus was subsequently described and commented upon in the *Cambridge Essays* of 1858 by Mr. C. W. Goodwin in an article upon Hieratic Papyri which may be considered as marking a new æra in the history of modern Egyptian philology. The publication of the text in 1860 was accompanied by a valuable preliminary notice from the pen of Dr. S. Birch. In 1863 the

present translator gave a transliteration and interlinear version of the first thirteen pages of the papyrus in an article[1] of the *Atlantis* (vol. iv.) in reply to the attacks of Sir G. C. Lewis. In the year 1864 M. Chabas devoted one of the most important articles of the second series of his *Mélanges Egyptologique* to the analysis of a long and difficult portion of this text. Two complete translations have been published, one in German by Dr. H. Brugsch in his *Aus dem Orient* (Berlin 1864), the other in French by M. Maspero.

The present translator has had no opportunity of seeing M. Maspero's version nor did he know of the existence of that of Dr. Brugsch till long after his own was completed. On one important point Dr. Brugsch's version, though less literal than the others, perhaps best expresses the sense of the original.[2]

The papyrus now in the British Museum was in the possession of Seti II of the XIXth dynasty whilst he was still heir presumptive to the throne. The tale which it contains is the work of Anna (or, as his name is often transcribed, Enna) one of the most distinguished scribes and functionaries of the period. It is to him that we are indebted for no inconsiderable a portion of the Egyptian literature which has been preserved in manuscript. The handwriting of the papyrus is very beautiful and read without difficulty wherever there are no *lacunæ*, and the text is in general simple and easy to be translated. Difficulties, however, occur here and there, and future translators will no doubt discover niceties of language or even important grammatical forms which have escaped the notice of their predecessors.

[1] Separately published under the title of *Sir G. C. Lewis on the decipherment and interpretation of Dead Languages.* London, 1863.

[2] The "heart" which was concealed in the flower of the Cedar is here rendered "soul." Compare some observations in the *Zeitsch. f. Ægypt, Sprache*, 1870, p. 137.

## TRANSLATION.

THERE were two brothers, (children) of one mother and of one father. ANPU was the name of the elder, BATA that of the younger.

ANPU had a house and a wife, and his younger brother was like a son to him. He it was who . . . . clothes for him. He followed after his cattle . . . . . he who did the ploughing . . . . did all the labours of the fields.

Behold, his younger brother was so good a labourer that there was not his equal in the whole land. . . . . But when the days had multiplied after this the younger brother was with his cattle according to his daily wont, he took them to his house every evening; he was laden with all the herbs of the field. . . . .

(The elder brother) sat with his wife and ate and drank (whilst the younger was in) the stable with his cattle. But when the day dawned . . . . . he *rose* before his elder brother, took bread to the field and called the (labourers) to eat in the field.

He followed after his cattle and they told him where the best grasses were. He understood all that they said and he took them to the place where the best herbage was which they wanted.

And the cattle which was before him became exceedingly beautiful, and they multiplied exceedingly. And when the time for ploughing came his elder brother said to him "Let

us take our teams for ploughing, because the land has made its appearance. The *time* is excellent for ploughing it. So do thou come with seed for we shall accomplish the ploughing." . . . . So said he.

And the younger brother proceeded to do whatever his elder told him. . . . . But when the day dawned they went to the field with their . . . . . and worked at their tillage and they enjoyed themselves exceedingly at their work..

[1] But when the days had multiplied after this they were in the field. . . . . (the elder brother) sent his junior, saying, "Go and fetch seed for us from the village."

And the younger brother found the wife of the elder sitting at her toilet. And he said to her "Arise and give me seed that I may go back to the field because my elder brother *wishes* me to return without delay."

And she said to him "Go, open the bin, and take thyself whatever thou wilt, my hair would fall by the way."

The youth entered his stable, he took a large vessel for he wished to take a great deal of seed and he loaded himself with grain and went out with it.

And she said to him "How much have you on . . . . ." And he said to her "Two measures of barley and three of wheat; in all five, which are on my arm."

And she spoke to him saying "What strength there is in thee, indeed, I observe thy vigour every day." Her heart knew him. . . . . She seized upon him and said to him "Come let us lie down for an instant. Better for thee . . . beautiful clothes."

The youth became like a panther with fury on account

[1] *I.e.* It came to pass after many days.

of the shameful discourse which she had addressed to him. And she was alarmed exceedingly.

He spoke to her, saying, "Verily, I have looked upon thee in the light of a mother and thy husband in that of a father to me. (*For he is older than I, as much as if he had begotten me.*) What a great abomination is this which thou hast mentioned to me. Do not repeat it again to me, and I will not speak of it to any one. Verily, I will not let any thing of it come forth from my mouth to any man."

He took up his load and went forth to the field. He came to his elder brother and they accomplished the task of their labour. But when the time of evening had come the elder brother returned to his house. His younger brother behind his cattle . . . . loaded with all things of the field. He led his cattle before him to lie down in their stable. . . . . .

Behold, the wife of his elder brother was alarmed at the discourse which she had held. She . . . . She made herself like one who has suffered violence from a man for she wished to say to her husband "It is thy younger brother who has done me violence."

Her husband returned home at evening according to his daily wont. He came to his house and he found his wife lying as if murdered by a ruffian.

She did not pour water upon his hand according to her wont, she did not light the lamp before him, his house was in darkness. She was lying uncovered.

Her husband said to her, "Who has been conversing with thee?" She said "No one has conversed with me except thy younger brother; when he came to fetch seed for thee, he found me sitting alone, and he said to me 'Come and let us lie down for an instant . . . . .' that is what he said to me.

"But I did not listen to him. 'Behold, am I not thy mother and thy elder brother is he not like a father to thee,' that is what I said to him, and he got alarmed and did me violence that I might not make a report to thee, but if thou lettest him live I shall kill myself. Behold he was come . . . . . ."

And the elder brother became like a panther . . . . he made his dagger sharp, and took it in his hand. And the elder brother put himself behind the door of his stable to kill his younger brother on his return at evening to bring his cattle to the stable.

But when the sun set he loaded himself with all the herbs of the field, according to his daily wont. And he came, and the first cow entered into the stable and it said to its keeper, "Verily, thy elder brother is standing before thee with his dagger to slay thee. Betake thyself from before him."

He heard the speech of the first ox; the next one entered and it spoke in the same way. He looked under the door of the stable, and he saw the two feet of his elder brother, who was standing behind the door with a dagger in his hand.

He laid down his load upon the ground and betook himself to flight, his elder brother following him with his dagger.

The younger brother invoked the Sun-god HORUS of the two horizons, saying, "My good Lord, it is thou who distinguishest wrong from right!" The Sun-god stopped to listen to all his wailings. And the Sun-god made a large stream, which was full of crocodiles between him and his elder; one of them was on one bank and one upon the other.

And the elder brother struck his hand twice (with rage) at not killing him: he did.

And the younger brother called to him from the bank, saying, "Stop till daybreak, and when the sun's disc comes forth I shall have an explanation with thee in its presence to give the . . . . . of the truth, for I have never done wrong to thee but I will never live in the places wherein thou art. I am going to the mountain of the Cedar."

But when the day dawned the Sun-god, HORUS of both horizons, came forth and each of them saw the other.

The young man spoke to his elder brother, saying, "What is this, thy coming to kill me wrongfully? Hearest thou not what my mouth speaketh? Verily, I am thy younger brother, in very deed, and thou wert to me as a father, and thy wife as a mother.

"Behold, is it not because thou didst send me to fetch seed for us, thy wife said to me 'Come let us lie down for an instant,' but see, she has turned it to thee the wrong way."

And he made him understand what had happened with reference to himself with his wife. He swore by the Sun-god, HORUS of both horizons saying "Thy intent is to slay me wrongfully, thou art with thy dagger. . . ." and he took a sharp knife, cut off his phallus and threw it into the water and the fish swallowed it.

But he became faint and swooned away. And his elder brother felt compassion exceedingly. And he stood weeping and crying, not being able to pass over to the place where his younger brother was, on account of the crocodiles.

But the younger brother called to him saying "Behold thou didst imagine a crime: thou didst not imagine that it was a virtuous action or a thing which I had done for thee.

"Now return to thy house, and do thou look after thy cattle, thyself; for I will no longer remain in a place where thou art. I go to the mountain of the Cedar.

"But as to what thou shalt do for me, and thy coming to look after me, thou shalt learn, namely; Things will happen to me.

"I shall take my heart and place it in the top of the flower of the Cedar, and when the Cedar is cut down, it will fall to the ground.

"Thou shalt come to seek it. If thou art seven years in the search of it let not thy heart be depressed, and when thou hast found it thou shalt place it in a cup of cold water; oh then I shall live (once more) and fling back a reply to an attack.

"And this thou shalt learn, namely, that the things have happened to me. When thou shalt take a jug of beer into thy hand and it turns into froth, then delay not; for to thee of a certainty is the issue coming to pass."

Then he departed to the mountain of the Cedar and the elder brother returned to his house. He put his hand upon his head and smeared it with dust; and when he came to his house he slew his wife and flung her to the dogs. But he continued mourning for his younger brother.

But when the days had multiplied after this, the younger brother was at the mountain of the Cedar. There was no one with him and his time was spent in hunting the animals of the country. He returned at evening to lie down under the Cedar on the top of whose flowers his heart lay.

But when the days had multiplied after this he built with his hands a dwelling on the mountain of the Cedar, which was filled with all the good things which the possessor of a house desires.

And having gone out of his dwelling he met the company of the gods who were going forth to do their will in their land of Egypt.

The divine company spoke by one of them who said to him "Ho! BATA, Bull of the divine company! dost thou remain alone, and abandonest thou thy country on account of the wife of ANPU, thy elder brother? Behold, his wife is slain, because thou hast flung back replies to all the attacks made upon thee."

Their hearts pitied him exceedingly. And the Sun-god, HORUS of both horizons said to CHNUM, "O, make a wife for BATA, that he may not remain alone."

And CHNUM made him a companion who as she sat was more beautiful in her limbs than any woman in the whole earth, the whole godhead was in her.

The seven Hathors came to see her and they said with one mouth that she would die a violent death. And he loved her exceedingly and she remained in his house whilst he spent his time in hunting the animals of the country and bringing the game to her.

And he said to her "Do not go out, lest the Sea carry thee off, and I may not know how to rescue thee from him, because I am a woman even as thou art, for my heart is on the top of the flower of the Cedar and if any one finds it I shall be overcome by him." And he revealed to her his heart in all its height.

And when the days had multiplied after this BATU went out to hunt the animals after his daily wont, and the young woman went out to take a turn under the Cedar which was near her house.

And the Sea beheld her and dashed its waters in pursuit of her and she betook herself to flight before it and entered into her house.

And the Sea cried to the Cedar saying "O that I could seize upon her!" And the Cedar carried off one of her fragrant

locks, and the Sea carried it to Egypt, and deposited it in the place where the washers of the King were.

And the odour of the lock grew into the clothes of the King. And a quarrel arose among the royal washers on account of the overpowering odour in the clothes of the King. The quarrel continued among them day after day, so that they no longer knew what they were doing.

And the Chief of the washers of the King went out to the water-side and his heart was exceedingly oppressed on account of the quarrels in which he was every day involved.

And he stopped and staid at the spot in the midst of which lay the fragrant lock in the water. And he stooped down and picked it up and he found the odour of it delicious, exceedingly, and he took it to the King.

And it was carried to the doctors, the magicians of the King. They said to the King—"The lock belongs to a daughter of the Sun-god, HORUS of both horizons, the essence of the whole godhead is in her.

"But the whole earth is in obeisance before thee, send therefore envoys to every place to seek her; but as for the envoy who is for the mountain of the Cedar, send out with him troops in great numbers to bring her."

His Majesty replied, "Good exceedingly is that which ye have said to us!" And the envoys were sent.

But when the days had multiplied after this the troops that went to every place returned to give their reports to His Majesty, but those returned not who had gone to the mountain of the Cedar; BATA had slain them.

One of them returned to tell the tale to His Majesty. And His Majesty once more sent out troops, many bow-men and also cavalry to fetch her, and there was a woman with

them, into whose hand one had given all the most beautiful trinkets for a woman.

And the woman came with her into Egypt, and rejoicing was made for her throughout the whole land. And His Majesty loved her exceedingly and she was raised to the dignity of a Princess.

And it was said to her that she should reveal the ways of her husband and she said to His Majesty "Cause the Cedar to be cut down and he will be destroyed."

And troops were sent out with their swords to cut down the Cedar. They came to the Cedar and cut down the flower upon which lay the heart of BATA. He fell dead in an instant.

But when the dawn of the next day appeared the Cedar was cut down, and ANPU the elder brother of BATA entered his house. He sat down and washed his hand and there was given to him a jug of beer, but this turned into froth.[1] Another jug was then given him of wine, but this at once became troubled.

Thereupon he took his staff and his sandals, likewise his clothes and his instruments of labour; and he betook himself to a journey towards the mountain of the Cedar.

He came to the dwelling of his younger brother and found him lying dead upon the floor. He wept when he saw his younger brother lying in the state of death, and he went out to seek for his brother's heart under the Cedar where he used to lie in the evening.

[1] I have retained this translation out of deference to the authority of M. Chabas. But the Egyptian word *setf* seems rather akin to ⲥⲱⲧϥ, *clear, limpid*, and in antithesis to the word *troubled* which occurs immediately afterwards.

Three years he sought without finding. But when the fourth year was come his heart longed to return to Egypt and he said "I will go to-morrow." Such was his intention.

But when the dawn of the next day appeared he continued to walk under the Cedar, occupied with his search and he returned in the evening.

He looked after his search once more and found a pod. He examined under it; and, behold, there was the heart of his younger brother. He brought a vessel of cold water, dropped the heart into it, and sat down according to his daily wont.

But when the night was come the heart absorbed the water. BATA trembled in all his limbs and continued looking at his elder brother, but his heart was faint.

Then ANPU took the vessel of cold water which his brother's heart was in. And when the latter had drunk it up his heart rose in its place and he became as he had been before. Each embraced the other and each one of them held conversation with his companion.

And BATA said to his elder brother, "Behold I am about to become a great Bull with all the sacred marks, but with an unknown history.

"Do thou sit upon my back and when the Sun-god rises we shall be in the place where my wife is. (Answer whether thou wilt take me there?) For there will be given to thee all good things, yea, thou shalt be loaded with silver and gold for bringing me to the King, for I shall become a great marvel and there will be rejoicing for me in the whole land. Then do thou return to thy village."

But when the dawn of the next day appeared BATA had assumed the form which he had mentioned to his elder brother. And ANPU, his elder brother, sat upon his back at dawn of day.

And he arrived at the place which had been spoken of and information was given to His Majesty, who inspected him and rejoiced exceedingly and celebrated a festival above all description, a mighty marvel and rejoicings for it were made throughout the whole land.

And there was brought silver and gold for the elder brother who staid in his village. But to (the Bull) there were given many attendants and many offerings and the King loved him exceedingly above all men in the whole land.

But when the days had multiplied after this he entered the sanctuary and stood in the very place where the Princess was. And he spoke to her, saying; "Look upon me, I am alive indeed."

And she said to him "And who then art thou?" And he said to her "I am BATA, thou gavest information for the cutting down of the Cedar to the King as to where I was that I might no longer live. But look upon me for I am really alive. I am a Bull."

And the Princess was frightened exceedingly at the speech which her husband addressed to her. And he went out of the sanctuary.

But when the King sat down to make a holiday with her, and as she was at the table of His Majesty and he was exceedingly gracious to her she said to him "Come swear to me by God that you will grant whatever I ask."

And he granted all that she asked; saying, "Let me eat the liver of the Bull for you have no need of him."

So spake she to him and it grieved him exceedingly that she spake it and the heart of His Majesty was exceedingly troubled.

But when the dawn of the next day appeared there was celebrated a great festival with offerings to the Bull.

But one of the Chief Royal Officers of His Majesty was made to go and slay the Bull. And as they were killing him and he was in the hands of the attendants he shook his neck and two drops of blood fell upon the two doorposts of His Majesty; one was on the one side of the great staircase of His Majesty, the other upon the other side; and they grew up into two mighty Persea trees, each of which stood alone.

And they went and told His Majesty saying; "Two mighty Persea trees have sprung up as a great omen of good fortune to His Majesty during the night, near the great staircase of His Majesty and there is rejoicing for them through the whole land and offerings are made to them."

And when the days had multiplied after this His Majesty was wearing the collar of lapis lazuli with a wreath of all kinds of flowers upon his neck. He was in his brazen chariot and he went forth from the royal palace to see the Persea tree.

And the Princess went out on a two-horsed car behind the King. And His Majesty sat under one of the Perseas and (the Tree) said to his wife "Ho! thou false one! I am BATA, I am living still, I have transformed myself. Thou gavest information to the King of where I was that I might be slain. I then became a Bull and thou didst cause me to be slain."

And when the days had multiplied after this the Princess was in the good graces of His Majesty, and he showed her favour. And she said to him "Come swear to me by God, saying, 'Whatever the Princess shall ask me I will consent to it.'"

And he consented to all that she said. And she said "Cause the two Persea trees to be cut down and let them

be made into beautiful planks." And he consented to all that she said.

And when the days had multiplied after this His Majesty made cunning workmen come to cut down the two Persea trees of the King, and there stood by looking on the royal spouse, the Princess. And there flew a splinter and it entered into the mouth of the Princess and she perceived that she had conceived. . . . . all that she desired.

And when the days had multiplied after this she brought forth a male child, and they went to the King and said to him "There is born to thee a male child."

And the child was brought and there were given to it a nurse and waiting woman, and rejoicings were made through the whole land. They sat down to make a holiday (and they gave him his name) and His Majesty at once loved him exceedingly and raised him to the dignity of Prince of Æthiopia.

But when the days had multiplied after this His Majesty made him hereditary Prince of the whole land.

And when the days had multiplied after this and he had completed many years as hereditary Prince . . . . . His Majesty flew up to heaven and (the Prince) said "Let the Princes and Nobles of His Majesty be summoned and I shall inform them of all the events which have happened to me. . . . . ." His wife was brought to him and he had a reckoning with her in presence of them, and they spoke their speech.

And his elder brother was brought to him, and he made him hereditary Prince of the whole land. And he reigned for thirty years as King of Egypt.

And when he had completed (those) thirty years of life, his elder brother arose in his place, on the day of his death.

(Finished) happily as an offering from the Scribe of the double white house, KAKABU, of the double white house of His Majesty. The Scribe HORA, and the Scribe MERIEMAP. Made by the Scribe ANNA, the Master of the Rolls. Whatsoever he says in the Rolls may THOTH guard from contradiction!

The Standard Bearer at the King's left hand, the Commander in Chief of the bowmen, the Royal Prince SETI, beloved of PTAH.[1]

[1] This is the name and title of the owner of the papyrus. It is here written in large characters, and it is repeated on the back of the book.

# THE TALE

OF THE

# DOOMED PRINCE.

FROM A PAPYRUS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

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TRANSLATED BY

C. W. GOODWIN, Esq.

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THIS singular romance which is unfortunately imperfect is contained in four pages on the reverse of the *Harris Papyrus*, No. 500 now in the collection at the British Museum. The conclusion of the narrative is wanting, and owing to the fragile condition of the MSS. there are several serious lacunæ, but these I have endeavoured to fill up as far as I could safely do so by an examination of the context.

The date of the composition is uncertain, but from

the simplicity of its style I should feel inclined to place it in the XVIIIth Dynasty. The translation here given is that which I read before the Society of Biblical Archæology in March, 1874, in whose *Transactions* Vol. iii. part I, it is also printed with exegetical notes.

## HARRIS PAPYRUS 500—VERSO PAGE ö.
## TRANSLATION.

The words in parentheses supply the lacunæ of the text from conjecture.

LINE

1 IT is told (that there was once) a King, who had no male offspring. (He prayed for an heir) and the gods listened to his request.

2 They decreed that one should be born to him. He lay with his wife in the night, and behold (she became) pregnant. She completed the month

3 of parturition, and then brought forth a male child. When the Hathors[1] (*Parcæ*) came to greet him at his birth, they said

4 that he would either die by a crocodile, a serpent, or by a dog. When the people who were about the child heard it, they went (and told) these

5 things to His Majesty. His Majesty was exceedingly grieved at the evil tidings. His Majesty gave orders (to shut the child up in) a house

6 in the country, provided with attendants and all kinds of good things from the King's palace, and that the child should not go out abroad. (Now it came to pass

7 after some time) when the child grew big, he ascended to the roof of the house, and he saw a dog, which was following a person who

8 was going along the road. He said to his attendant,

[1] The seven Hathors who attend at the birth of children, and predict their future fate, are mentioned also in the *Tale of the Two Brothers*, where they unanimously foretell a violent death to the woman who was formed by the creator Chnum to be the wife of Batau. These mysterious beings are the prototypes of the *Parcæ* or Fates of the ancients. In the *Book of the Dead*, cap. cxlviii, they are represented as cows, and their names are given at length.

who was beside him, "What is that which (follows the person going along) the road." He
9 said to him, "That is a dog." The child said to him, "Let one be brought to me like it." The attendant went and repeated these things
10 to His Majesty. His Majesty said, "Let there be got for him a boar-hunting dog, to run before him." Then they got for him
11 a dog. Now it came to pass some time after this, the child became like a Prince, in all his limbs. He
12 sent to his father, saying, "Why is it that I still remain shut up. I am destined (to die by one of three deaths . . . . . )
13 . . . . . Let God do whatsoever pleases him." He went and . . . . . .

PAGE 5

1 all kinds of weapons . . . . . to serve him. The man conducted him to the East.
2 He said to him, "Go now whithersoever thou wilt." (He went off) and the dog with him. He went up to the country according to his will, he lived upon the best of
3 all the beasts of the field. He arrived at the country of the Prince of Naharanna.[1] Now there was no child of the Prince of
4 Naharanna,[1] excepting one daughter. He had built a house for her, of which the window was distant
5 . . . . . cubits from the ground. He had sent for all the sons of all the Princes of the land of Chara and said to them,
6 "Whoever shall scale the window of my daughter, she shall be his wife." It came to pass many days after this,

[1] Mesopotamia. [2] Syria.

7 while they were engaged in their daily occupations, the
youth rode up to them. They
8 received the youth into their house, washed him, they
gave fodder to his
9 horse, they did all sorts of things for the youth. They
lodged (?) him, they shod (?) his feet, they
10 brought him to their . . . . . they said to him in the
way of conversation, "Whence comest thou,
11 thou good youth?" He said to them, "I am the son
of one of the horsemen of the land of Egypt. My mother
died, and my
12 father took another wife, a step-mother. Thereupon
she hated me, and I fled from before her." He
13 was silent (?). They kissed him . . . . . He said to
the
14 youths, "What shall I do . . . . . " (they tell him about
the daughter of the King of Naharanna).

PAGE 6.

1 . . . . . to scale the window of the tower. Now it
came to pass many days after this . . . . .
2 . . . . . he said to them, "Do ye go out; I will call[1]
I will go to climb[2]
3 among you." They went to climb, according to their
custom every day. The youth
4 stood afar off looking on. The maid-servant (?) of the
daughter of the Prince of Naharanna was upon it (the
tower?). Now it came to pass some time after this,
5 the youth went to climb with the children of the Princes;
he climbed
6 and he reached the window of the daughter of the

[1] Or conjure some Deity.

[2] The word here translated *climb* almost implies *to fly*, if one could believe in the invention of ærostatics before the time of Icarus.

Prince of Naharanna. She kissed him, she embraced him in
7 all his limbs. Some one went to congratulate her father, and said to him, "A man has scaled the window
8 of thy daughter." The Prince inquired about him, saying, "The son of which of the Princes is it?" They said to him,
9 "It is the son of a horseman, who has run away from the land of Egypt, (from the face) of a step-mother." The
10 Prince of Naharanna was exceedingly angry. He said, "How can I give my daughter to a runaway
11 from Egypt. Let him go back again." They went and said (to the youth "Go back) to the place from whence thou camest."
12 But the girl clung to him. She swore by God, saying, "By the name of the Sun, HORUS, (if I am prevented) from keeping him
13 with me, I will neither eat nor drink." She was on the point of dying. A messenger
14 went to announce all that she had said to her father. The Prince sent men to slay him (the youth).
15 He was in his house. The girl said, "By the Sun if he is slain . . . . . I will die too,
16 I will not pass an hour of life (without) him. One went (and told all these things) to her father. (The Prince of Naharanna causes the youth to be brought to him).

## PAGE 7.

1 (The result is favourable) . . . . . The fear of him
2 came upon the Prince. He embraced him, and kissed him in all his limbs. He said to him, "Behold thou art
3 unto me as a son." He replied to him, "I am the child of a horseman of the land of Egypt. My mother died, my father took

4 to himself another wife . . . . . she hated me. I ran away from before her." He gave him his daughter to wife. He

5 (gave him a handsome establishment.) Now it came to pass some time after this, that the youth

6 said unto his wife, "I am predestined to one of three deaths; either by a crocodile, a serpent, or a dog." She said to him, "Let

7 (some precautions be taken)." He replied, "I will not cause my dog to be killed. How should he do it?"

8 The woman (urged) her husband greatly. He would not allow him (the dog?) to go out alone.

9 (He goes a journey to some place) in the land of Egypt to catch birds. Behold a crocodile[1]

10 he was at the door of his house in the village, in which the

11 (youth had formerly dwelt). Behold there was a giant by him. The giant did not suffer him to go out.

12 . . . . . (he shut up) the crocodile. The giant went out to walk. Now when the dawn

13 appeared (the youth) went . . . . . every day for the space of two months. Now it

14 came to pass some time after this, that the youth was sitting and making a feast in his house. Now it happened that

15 when night approached, the youth lay down upon his mat, and sleep overcame his limbs.

PAGE 8.

1 His wife was engaged in (some occupation connected with the bath). (There came a serpent)

2 from a hole to bite the youth. Behold his wife was sitting beside him; she was not reposing. Then the (servants came and presented something),[2]

[1] Probably a sacred animal. [2] Probably wine.

3 to the serpent. He drank of it to intoxication.[1] He lay down overcome. (The woman kills him and throws him)

4 . . . . . into her bath. Then they awoke her husband (and told him what had happened).

5 She said to him, Behold thy God hath given one of thy dooms into thy hand. He proceeded to make

6 offerings to God, to worship him, and exalt his presence, every day. Now it came to pass some time after this,

7 the youth went out to walk, at a distance from his dwelling. He did not . . . . .

8 Behold his dog followed him. His dog seized the head of (some animal)

9 He began to run (after) him, he approached (a place near) the sea. He proceeded to the . . . . . .

10 the dog was standing (near) the crocodile. He led him to where the giant was . . . . .

11 the crocodile (said) to the youth "I am thy doom, I am come after thee . . . . . .

12 . . . . . with the giant. But, behold, I will remember (?) thee . . . . . .

13 . . . . . thou mayest bewitch me (like) the giant. But if thou seest . . . . . .

14 . . . . . Now it came to pass after two month's that (the youth) went . . . . . .

Here unfortunately the fragment breaks off. Considering the rapidity with which the story is developed in these five pages, it may be presumed that at most not more than five others are required to complete the catastrophe which, one cannot help feeling, is in some way or other brought to pass by the faithful dog.

[1] See Wilkinson *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. V. 240, 241, for the feeding of sacred serpents on cakes and honey.

# EGYPTIAN CALENDAR.

| | SACRED YEAR begins | ALEXANDRIAN[1] begins |
|---|---|---|
| Thoth | July 20 | August 29 |
| Paophi | August 19 | September 28 |
| Athyr | September 18 | October 28 |
| Choiak | October 18 | November 27 |
| Tybi | November 17 | December 27 |
| Mechir | December 17 | January 26 |
| Phamenoth | January 16 | February 25 |
| Pharmuthi | February 15 | March 27 |
| Pashons | March 17 | April 26 |
| Payni | April 16 | May 26 |
| Epiphi | May 16 | June 25 |
| Mesore | June 15 | July 25[2] |

[1] The Alexandrian Year was introduced in the reign of Augustus, B.C. 25.

[2] Epagomenæ, 24th to 28th August.

# TABLE
OF THE
# EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES.

## MYTHICAL PERIOD.
(FROM MANETHO.)

1. Gods
2. Gods
3. Demigods
4. Manes.

## HISTORICAL PERIOD.
(FROM MANETHO AND THE MONUMENTS.[1])

| DYNASTY. | CAPITAL. | MODERN NAME. | SUPPOSED YEARS OF DYNASTY. |
|---|---|---|---|
| I Thinite | This | *Harabat el Madfouneh* | 253 |
| II Thinite | This | *Harabat el Madfouneh* | 302 |
| III Memphite | Memphis | *Mit-Rahyneh* | 214 |
| IV Memphite | Memphis | *Mit-Rahyneh* | 284 |
| V Memphite | Memphis | *Mit-Rahyneh* | 248 |
| VI Elephantine | Elephantine | *Geziret-Assouan* | 203 |
| VII Memphite | Memphis | *Mit-Rahyneh* | 70 |
| VIII Memphite | Memphis | *Mit-Rahyneh* | 142 |
| IX Heracleopolitan | Heracleopolis | *Ahnas el Medineh* | 109 |
| X Heracleopolitan | Heracleopolis | *Ahnas el Medineh* | 185 |
| XI Diospolitan[2] | Thebæ | *Medinat Abu* | 213 |
| XII Diospolitan | Thebæ | *Medinat Abu* | 453 |
| XIII Diospolitan | Thebæ | *Medinat Abu* | 184 |
| XIV Xoite | Xois | *Sakha* | 511 |
| XV Shepherds (Hykshos) | Tanis | *San* | |

[1] This list is taken from Mariette, *L'histoire ancienne d' Egypte*, p. 65.
[2] *I.e.*, Theban.

| DYNASTY. | CAPITAL. | MODERN NAME. | SUPPOSED YEARS OF DYNASTY. |
|---|---|---|---|
| XVI Shepherds | Tanis | *San* | |
| XVII Diospolitan | Thebæ | *Medinat Abu* | 241 |
| XVIII Diospolitan | Thebæ | *Medinat Abu* | 174 |
| XIX Diospolitan | Thebæ | *Medinat Abu* | 178 |
| XX Diospolitan | Thebæ | *Medinat Abu* | |
| XXI Tanite | Tanis | *San* | 130 |
| XXII Bubastite | Bubastis | *Tel Basta* | 170 |
| XXIII Tanite | Tanis | *San* | 89 |
| XXIV Saite | Sais | *Sa-el-Hagar* | 6 |
| XXV Æthiopian | Napata | *Mt. Barkal* | 50 |
| XXVI Saite | Sais | *Sa-el-Hagar* | 138 |
| XXVII Persian | Persepolis | | 121 |
| XXVIII Saite | Sais | *Sa-el-Hagar* | 7 |
| XXIX Mendesian | Mendes | *Ashmun-er-Ruman* | 21 |
| XXX Sebennyte | Sebennytis | *Samanhoud* | 38 |
| XXXI Persian | Persepolis | *Takt-i-Jemshid* | 8 |

# EGYPTIAN

# MEASURES AND WEIGHTS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 *Suten maha* | Royal cubit | = | 7 palms. |
| 1 *Maha ur* | great cubit | = | 6 palms. |
| 1 *Maha negs* | little cubit | = | 5 palms. |
| 1 *Tser* | foot | = | 4 palms. |
| 1 *Remen aa* | large span | = | 14 digits. |
| 1 *Remen negs* | small span | = | 3 palms. |
| 1 *Khep* | | = | 5 digits. |
| 1 *Shap* | palm | = | 4 digits. |
| 4 *Teb* | digits | = | 1 palm. |
| $\frac{1}{2}$–$\frac{1}{16}$ *Ru* | fractions | = | 1 digit. |

These, according to Sir Henry James, are as follows:—

| | | | | | INCHES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Royal cubit | = | 7 palms | = | | 20.728. |
| 1 palm | = | 4 digits | = | | 2.961. |
| 1 digit | | | = | | .743. |
| 1 span | = | 3 palms | = | | 8.583. |
| 1 foot | = | 4 palms | = | | 11.844. |
| 1 common cubit | = | 6 palms | = | | 18.240. |
| 1 palm | = | 4 digits | = | | 3.040. |
| 1 digit | | | = | | 0.760. |
| 1 span | = | 3 palms | = | | 9.120. |
| 1 foot | = | 4 palms | = | | 12.160. |

| | | | TROY GRAINS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 *Ten*, pound | = | 10 *kat* | = 1400 |
| 1 *Kat*,[1] didrachm or ounce | | | = 140 |

1 *Hon* (*hin*) = 75 pints.

MEASURES OF WHICH THE EXACT EQUIVALENTS ARE NOT KNOWN.

*Tna*, basket. | *Hetp*, bushel. | *Khersh*, truss.

[1] The *half*, *quarter*, *two-thirds*, *one-sixth*, and *one-sixteenth*, of a *kat* are found.

LISTS OF FURTHER TEXTS FOR TRANSLATION.

# ASSYRIAN.

ARRANGED BY

GEORGE SMITH.

*Works on History and Chronology.*

Eponym Canon (Cun. Ins., Vol. III, p. 1).
Historical Canon (Cun. Ins., Vol. II, p. 52).
Synchronous History (Cun. Ins., Vol. II, p. 65).

*Historical.*

Legends of Izdubar (texts unpublished). (Deluge Tablets.)
Inscriptions of Urukh king of Babylonia (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 1).
Inscriptions of Dungi son of Urukh (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 2).
Inscriptions of various other early Babylonian Sovereigns (Trans. Soc. Bib. Ar., Vol. I, pp. 37 to 46).
Inscription of Sargon I king of Babylonia (Cun. Ins., Vol. III, p. 4).
Inscription of Sargon and his son Naram-sin (Trans. Soc. Bib. Ar., pp. 49-51).
Various Inscriptions of Kuder-mabuk and Rim-sin his son (see Trans. Soc. Bib. Ar., p. 42, and notes).
Early Babylonian Dated Tablets (texts unpublished).
Brick of Samsi-vul I ruler of Assyria (Cun. Ins., Vol. 1, p. 6).
Brick of Kara-indas king of Babylon (Trans. Soc. Bib. Ar. p. 68).

Inscriptions of Burna-buriyas king of Babylon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 4, etc).

Inscriptions of Kuri-galzu king of Babylon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 4, etc.).

Inscriptions of Pudil king of Assyria (Revue Ar., Nov., 1869).

Monolith of Maruduk-bal-idina I king of Babylonia (text unpublished).

Tablet of Vul-nirari I king of Assyria (text unpublished).

Small Inscriptions of Vul-nirari (various).

Inscriptions of Shalmaneser I king of Assyria (various).

Inscriptions of Tugulti-ninip king of Assyria (various unpublished; one Cun. Ins., Vol. III, p. 4).

Inscriptions of Assur-risilim, king of Assyria (Cun. Ins., Vol. III, p. 3).

Brick and Cone Inscriptions of Vul-bal-idina king of Babylon (various).

Inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar I king of Babylonia (unpublished).

Cylinder of Tiglath-Pileser I king of Assyria (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, pp. 9-16).

Other fragments of Tiglath-Pileser (various).

Contracts dated in the reign of Maruduk-nadin-ahi king of Babylon (various).

Inscriptions of Assur-bel-kala king of Assyria (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 6).

Inscriptions of Samsivul IV king of Assyria (Cun. Ins., Vol. III, p. 3).

Contract dated in the reign of Simma-sihu king of Babylon (Layard's Ins., p. 53).

Annals of Assur-nazir-pal king of Assyria, from pavement slabs (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, pp. 17-26).

Other Inscriptions of Assur-nazir-pal (various).

Kurkh Monolith of Shalmaneser II (Cun. Ins., Vol. III, pp. 7 and 8).

Bull Inscription of Shalmaneser II (Layard's Ins., p. 12, etc.).
Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II (Layard's Ins., p. 87).
Inscriptions of Vul-nirari III king of Assyria (Cun. Ins., Vol. I. p. 35).
Fragments of Annals of Tiglath-Pileser II king of Assyria (various).
Fragments of Inscriptions Shalmaneser IV king of Assyria (various).
Inscription of the Second Year of Sargon (unpublished).
Nimrud Inscription of Sargon (Layard's Ins., p. 33).
Cylinder (Barrel) of Sargon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 36).
Prism of Sargon (unpublished).
Fastes of Sargon (Botta).
Annals of Sargon (Botta).
Other Inscriptions of Sargon (various).
Tablet of Kalah Shergat.
Nebbi Yunas Tablet (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, pp. 43, 44).
Bull Inscriptions of Sennacherib (Cun. Ins., Vol. III, pp. 12 and 13).
Other Inscriptions of Sennacherib (various).
Cylinder of Esarhaddon king of Assyria (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, pp. 45-47).
Various other Inscriptions of Esarhaddon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, etc.).
Portions of Cylinders B, C, D, and E of Assurbanipal (Smith's Assurbanipal).
Various Historical Tablets of Assurbanipal (Smith's Assurbanipal).
Hunting Texts of Assurbanipal (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 7).
Inscriptions of Assur-ebel-ili king of Assyria (Cun. Ins., Vols. I and III).
Cylinder of Bel-zakir-iskun king of Assyria (Cun. Ins. Vol. I. p. 8).
Inscription of Nabopalassar king of Babylonia (unpublished).

Inscription (India House) of Nebuchadnezzar (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, pp. 53 to 64).
Senkereh Cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 51).
Borsippa Cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 51).
Various other texts of Nebuchadnezzar.
Tablet dated in the reign of Evil Merodach king of Babylon.
Cylinder of Nergal-shar-ezer king of Babylon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, p. 67).
Cylinders of Nabonidas king of Babylon (Cun. Ins., Vol. I, pp. 68, 69).
Other texts of Nabonidas (various).
Brick of Cyrus king of Babylon (Trans. Soc. Bib. Ar., Vol. II, pt. I).
Inscription on Tomb of Cyrus.
Dated Tablets in reign of Cambysses (various).
Inscriptions of Darius.
Inscriptions of Xerxes king of Persia.
Inscriptions of Artaxerxes king of Persia.
Later Inscriptions of Persian, Greek, and Parthian periods.

*Mythology and Religion* (*mostly unpublished*).

History of the Evil Spirits.
Hymn to the Moon God.
Hymns to Ninip.
The War of the Gods.
Incantations for removing Curses.
Prayers of Amil-urgal.
Prayer against Eclipses.
Various other Prayers.
Various Mythological Stories and Invocations.
Tablets against Witchcraft.

*Fable* (*unpublished*).

The Horse and the Ox.

*Government* (*mostly unpublished*).

Tablet with Advice and Cautions to Kings.
Various Reports and Despatches.
Various Tablets with Laws and Law Cases.

*Private Life.*

Further Deeds of Sale and Barter.
Further Loan Tablets.
Private Letters.
Lists of Property.

*Science, etc.* (*partly unpublished*).

Geographical Lists.
Lists of Animals and Birds.
Lists of Minerals and their uses.
Lists of Wooden Objects.
Grammatical Tablets (a selection from).
Mathematical Tablets.

*Astrology and Astronomy.*

Further Selections from the great Chaldean Work on Astrology.
Further Selections from Astronomical and Astrological Reports.
A Selection of Omens from Terrestrial Objects and Events.[1]

PHŒNICIAN

Sarcophagus of Ashmunazer (Duc de Luynes, *Mémoire*, 1856).
Marseilles Inscription (Judas, 1857).
The Moabite Stone (Ginsburg, 1871).
Selected Mortuary Inscriptions.

[1] Selections of these only printed in Vol. I.

# EGYPTIAN.

(*Tentative List only.*)

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P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

*Historical Documents.*

Ancient Empire:

Inscription of Tomb of Ameni (Benihassan I).

„ Tomb of Nahre-si Chnum-hotep (Benihassan II).

XIth Dynasty:

Sepulchral Inscription of Ameni (Birch).

XVIIIth Dynasty:

Inscription of Aahmes son of Abna (Denk. III, pl. 12).

„ Aahmes, formerly called Pensouvan (Louvre C, 49).

„ Thothmes I at Karnak (Denk. III, 18).

„ Hatasu (Duemichen, Hist. Ins., 19, 20).

Other Monuments of Thothmes III (Birch and De Rougé).

Inscription of Amem-em-heb at Abd-el-Gurnah (Ebers).

Obelisk of Lateran.

Inscription of Haremhebi.

Inscriptions of Amenophis III (Denk. III, 65 and following).

Monuments of the Disk Worshippers.

XIXth Dynasty:

Triumphal Inscription of Seti I at Karnak (Denk. III, 126).

Inscription of Seti I at Radesieh.

Sarcophagus of Seti I (Bonomi).

The Great Harris Papyrus of Rameses II.

Dedicatory Inscription of Rameses II at Abydos (Maspero).
Triumphal Inscriptions (Denk. III, 165, etc.).
Historical Inscription at Abusimbel (187).
Great Tablet at Abusimbel (194).
Inscription of Bek-en-Chonsu (Déveria).

List of Kings:
Turin Papyrus.
Tablet of Abydos.
Tablet of Sakkarah.

XXth Dynasty:
Inscription of Seti II (Duemichen, Hist. Ins., 1 to 5).
„ Rameses III (Rosellini, Burton, Greene, and Duemichen, *ubi supra* 13 to 15).

XXIst Dynasty:
Tablet 4th year of Rameses IV.
Tablet of Temple of Chonsu at Karnak.

Ethiopic period:
Dream Tablet.
"Stèle de l'inthronisation."
"Stèle de l'excommunication."
} Mariette's Monuments.

Persian and Ptolemaic:
Tablet of Aahmes (Pierret).
Statuette Naophore du Vatican.
Tablet of Tafnecht at Naples.
Inscription of Ptolemy son of Lagos.
Inscription of Alexander Argôs (Zeitchrift).
Tablet of Canopus.
„ Rosetta.
"Bauurkunde der Templelanlagen von Edfu" (Duemichen).
Two Ptolemaic Tablets (Birch).
Selection of Obelisk Inscriptions.
„ Apis Tablets.

*Religious or Magical Texts.*

Ancient Forms of Sepulchral Offerings, etc. (Tablets of Ancient Empire).
Book of the Dead.
Spells in Lepsius ("Aelteste Texte").
Harris Magical Papyrus.
Magical Text in British Museum (Salt 825. Birch).
"Horus on Crocodiles" (various texts, Leyden and elsewhere).
Spells in Tomb of Bek-en-ren-ef.
"Metternich Tablet."
"*Shâ en sensenu;*" the "Book of the Breaths of Life."
Legend of Horus (Naville).
Rhind Papyri.
Sarcophagus of Aroeri (Bonomi).
„ Necht-en-heb.
„ T'at-hra (Louvre).
„ British Museum, 32.
Litanies of the Sun (Denk. III, 203).
Apis Stelæ (a very large number).

Selection of Hymns, such as the following:
To the Nile (Denk. III, 175).
To Ammon (Denk. III, 237).
Other Hymns to Ammon (Goodwin).
Ap-heru-mes (Berlin, in Brugsch Monumens, pl. III).
Meri ( „ „ „ pl. IV).
To Osiris Bibliothèque Nationale, Chacas).
Fragments of the Hymns of the Disk Worshippers.
Several in British Museum.
„ Duemichen's publications.
Great Psalm to Ammon (Leyden I, 350).

Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky days (Sallier, Chabas).
Calendars of Festivals from as Early Date as possible to Roman Period.

*Literature, Philosophy, Science, Economy.*

Proverbs, Prisse Papyrus (Chabas).
Tale of the Garden of Flowers (Chabas).
„ "Saneha" (Goodwin).
„ Setnau (Brugsch, Rev. Arch.).
"Rules of Life" (Papyrus at Bulaq, lately published by Marriette).
Song of the Oxen (Denk. III, 10).
Lay of the Harper.
Solemn Festal Dirge of the Egyptians (Goodwin).
Three Amatory Songs (Goodwin).
Medical Papyrus (Berlin).
„ „ (British Museum).
„ „ (Ebers Papyrus).
Geometrical Papyrus (British Museum).
Calendar of Astronomical Observations in Tombs of XXth Dynasty (Renouf).
Letters on all varieties of subjects in the Sallier, Anastasi, Leyden, and Bologna Papyri.
Registers, etc., (Rollin and other Papyri).
Accounts.
Receipts for making Kyphi, etc.
Catalogues of the Temple Library at Edfu.

*Law and Police.*

Abbott Papyrus (Spoliation of Tombs).
"Pap. Judiciaire de Turin" (Deveria).
"Pap. Judiciaire Amhurst" (Chabas).
Report on Capture of Fugitive Slaves (Leyden I, 368, Chabas).
Complaint against Paneba (British Museum, Salt, Chabas).
Petition to king Amenophis (Chabas).
Complaint against Thefts committed by certain Workmen (Chabas).

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## VOL. I.

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INSCRIPTION OF RIMMON-NIRARI.
REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

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VOL. III. *December* 31, 1874.

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GEORGE SMITH.

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H. FOX TALBOT, F.R.S.

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SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B.

KURKH INSCRIPTION OF SHALMANESER.
REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ESARHADDON.
H. FOX TALBOT, F.R.S.

INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.
REV. J. M. RODWELL, M.A.

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GEORGE SMITH.

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